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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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17 December 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MINISTERS LOSE POSTS IN WAKE OF ENERGY CRISIS

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 29 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by Miklos Riteca: "Romania Before the Winter" in the column 'What is Behind the News']

[Text] The severe winter of last year caused disruptions in Romania's energy supply. A few industrial plants had to suspend operation in order to conserve; heating of homes and offices was reduced; automobile traffic dropped off. With the approach of cold weather people in Bucharest are looking ahead, wanting to insure at least a supply of electricity to the national economy.

The Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party recently held a session and put into effect some extraordinary energy-production measures. During the meeting it was established that the department concerned had not been working appropriately and that it had done little for successful implementation of the program adopted in the spring; therefore the deputy minister responsible for this area, Ioan Avram, and the portfolio leader, Nicolae Busni, were relieved of their positions. Later the Romanian press agency reported the dismissal of the minister of mines, the importance of which post was indicated by the fact that Ilie Verd, formerly secretary of the Central Committee, a man of much experience, was put in his place. According to plan the enterprises have been doing their work to supply energy, working out hour by hour and day by day. Still, this key branch has not met its established goals. The central newspaper of the Romanian Communist Party finds the cause of the deficiency in the operation of the steam centers, but it also blames consumers for frequently excessive usage. Authorities already warned in September that maximum conservation is required, but apparently this has not been understood everywhere. Now they are relying on the present changes, and the leadership is concentrating on the most important tasks. For a long time it has been said in Bucharest that existing capacity should be better utilized, and Nicolae Ceausescu has repeated in his statements that everything would be fine if the power giants would even operate at three-fourths of their possibilities.

Coal production caused the biggest headaches last year; this year they would like to avoid this worry. Creation of a 5-million ton reserve by the end of September was prescribed, but the mines gave some 1 million tons less than that, in spite of the fact that a much greater quantity can be found in their

storage bins. A new problem had developed, namely transportation. They were unable to deliver to their customers the amount that was mined on account of a shortage of railroad cars. Forty loaded cars sat idle at one station in the Motru coal basin, just "because the ministry of energy had not put on them the seal verifying their quantity," wrote SCINTEIA. "The fuel did not meet the standard for calorie content--it was full of dirt," the paper pointed out. After the session, a presidential order was issued "to introduce a state of emergency and martial law in the national energy units." Accordingly, officers will be assigned to the branch, and they together with the cadres belonging to them will observe professional management and control and execute the work system. This means that no worker may leave without permission, and "a rigorous attitude must be displayed against any kind of departure from the established rules," says the order.

"All this was not unexpected by the people," the newspapers stressed. They want to improve the situation, because the consumers were forced into

Increased Frugality

in order to keep the industrial plants operating sufficiently, which meant, for example, that lights could be turned on in only one room at night, light bulbs larger than 40 watts could not be used, and television broadcasting time was reduced. The present decisions are being called reasonable in Bucharest, because it is important for the national economy that the plan be fulfilled while using the least possible amount of electricity.

The Political Executive Committee also condemned the ministry of transportation, because its transportation fees are disproportionately high. The resolution stated that the goal is to force them down, and it urged avoiding expensive auto transportation. The statement emphasized that the president had given guidelines for correcting the errors, that more particular attention be paid to increasing the participation of the railroads, as they are cheaper than highway transportation. Ceausescu asked for installation of new freight cars, and he asked the authorities to make better use of the opportunities provided by the Danube and other internal waterways.

The minister responsible for foreign trade also received party discipline, because serious deficiencies had appeared in the activities of this portfolio. In many cases guidelines and decisions were seriously violated, which reflected negatively in the efficiency of foreign trade and reduced income.

"The nation can fulfill its export obligations economically only by observing the decrees, and participation in the international market is a critical element in the Communist Party's strategy for building society," as was emphasized in an article in the Romanian [Hungarian-language] paper UJ ELET. The paper continued, "President Ceausescu has often expressed the fact that without a broad industrial-scientific and education exchange, socialism cannot be created. Our eastern neighbor has been open in its foreign relations during the past two decades, and they now have trade relationships with some 150 countries. Exports are a regular concern of the Central Committee, where it has been stated that precise production of goods intended for foreign countries is of particular importance.

In a lead article, the Bucharest Hungarian-language paper ELORE discusses plan tasks for the coming year. The author writes, "Special guidelines were expressed in the party forum about

Utilization of Raw Materials

and they support actions to recover basic materials." It was stressed that the head of state made it an immediate goal that every working community be clear about its duties and the achievement of the prescribed goals. Intensive development of industry and agriculture will characterize in general the period between 1986 and 1990. Attention will be paid from now on to better work organization, introduction of new technologies, automation and application of robots. Workers' meetings that are now beginning will debate profitability and efficiency. The leadership will ask for workers' opinions, "and in the coming meetings they must take into account with high precision and responsibility what they have done for this year's plan and the whole 5-year plan," ELORE emphasizes.

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ALBANIA

ALIA ADDRESSES CADRES IN GJIROKASTER

AU251826 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Summary of speech delivered by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, at meeting with Gjirokaster District cadres on 12 October 1985: "The Party Must Resolve the Most Difficult Problems"]

[Text] I would like first to express our pleasure about our meetings with the heroic people of Gjirokaster. The boundless affection for the party, the steel-like unity of this people around the party, and the readiness that the working people everywhere have manifested and continue to manifest give us new strength and increase our confidence in the happy future of our homeland. But the readiness of the people and their unprecedented mobilization put us communists and cadres in their debt and stimulate us to work even harder, better, and more boldly than we may, all of us together, the party and the people, march forward like one single body with Enver's teachings in our hearts and minds, keep our socialist Albania Red forever, make it stronger and more prosperous, progressing surely on the road of socialism and communism.

Our internal situation is sound and militant everywhere. This is shown by the unity of the people, which is stronger than ever, and is reflected in their steel-like links with the party. This unity was reflected during the days of national mourning in the great courage shown in turning grief into strength, in the all-round mobilization of the workers, cooperativists, and intelligentsia, and in their determination to implement Enver's teachings. This was an unprecedented mobilization of all the people, as a result of which the plans are being better fulfilled and the difficulties caused by the extraordinary climate conditions, the electricity and water shortage, are being overcome.

Our task, the task of the party, is to keep alive this fervor at work, to constantly strengthen the political situation. The work of the party must be constantly improved in all directions, responding to the fervor of the masses, constantly developing initiative and the spirit of action.

This is a commitment to all of us, to all communists, leaders at all levels. This is also a commitment to all of you, the leading cadres in Gjirokaster District, and you must respond increasingly better to this fervor and

enthusiasm by the masses, to this unprecedented mobilization of theirs. I express the confidence of the AWP Central Committee that Gjirokaster District has all the possibilities of progressing at an even more rapid pace and of achieving new and even greater victories.

Gjirokaster is a district with a developed industry, agriculture, and culture. Your district's industrial sector has fulfilled the plan for the first 4 years of the current 5-year period, as well as the plan for the first 8 months of the current year. Its industrial output is 4 times more than it was in 1960, the production of consumer commodities having particularly expanded.

Agricultural production has increased from one year to the next. Its stability with regard to certain crops has been strengthened. Your district holds eighth place in the republic with regard to corn yields, seventh place with regard to sunflower and beans, and fourth place with regard to tobacco. The district has 670 head of cattle for every 100 hectares, surpassing 18 other districts. Half the number of agricultural cooperatives secure 40 percent of their income from the livestock sector, mainly small livestock.

Education and culture have assumed massive proportions in the city and in the countryside. Seventy percent of those who complete 8-year schools go on to secondary schools. During the current 5-year period some 2,500 cadres with secondary education and 400 specialists with higher education have been added to the district. The amateur artistic movement has spread. The health and trade sectors have been brought nearer to the people and their quality has been raised. The material and cultural well-being of the working people in the rural areas is approaching that in the cities at a more rapid rate than many other districts.

All these achievements show that a good base has been created on which to build. But these achievements also show that there are still reserves and possibilities that must be better utilized. That is why the party is expecting even greater achievements in Gjirokaster District, particularly in agriculture and livestock-raising, through a concentration of efforts on major issues.

Structural changes in agricultural production are imperative for Gjirokaster District, the intention being to better harmonize all production factors, using the material-technical base more efficiently, as well as the district's suitable natural conditions.

Although certain results have been achieved and although the proportion of livestock products is rising, some cadres and specialists are of the opinion that your district is overburdened by the livestock sector. This could have consequences. It is a fact that the number of small and large livestock has not increased for a number of years. In fact it has dropped. If we also consider the low yields of forage crops, as well as the fact that you have the largest acreage of natural pastures in the republic, it becomes apparent that the possibilities to further develop the livestock sector in your district are considerable.

The harvesting of this potential, however, requires a more complete understanding of the decision of the AWP Central Committee Politburo concerning the strengthening of the fodder base. I stress this because considerable areas are not being sown with forage crops in your district, yields of forage crops are less than 30 quintals per hectare, and insufficient attention is paid to investments to improve pastures.

Increased milk and meat production requires an increase in the number of cattle, as well as increased productivity in the livestock sector, better combining these two ways of development. The fact that the number of cows in agricultural enterprises has not increased for some years is not at all normal, particularly since the party has called for an increase in the number of cows in agricultural cooperatives.

The tradition and experience of livestock-raisers is not lacking in your district. Sheep and goat herds must be created not only in all cooperatives, but also in every village. This must be kept well in mind in the drafting and implementation of the next 5-year plan. The centers for fattening cattle and sheep must become a great source of meat production and for increasing the income of the cooperatives. Stricter control must also be established to prevent the excessive slaughter of small livestock, because the number of sheep and goats slaughtered last year amounted to one-fifth of the total.

After speaking about the solicitude that must be also shown with regard to field crops and horticulture, Comrade Ramiz stressed:

The investments effected in recent years to fill the gaps in existing orchards and to create new plantations must be better appreciated by the respective organs; the bank and the executive committee must also follow up the way these investments are used and must exert greater control. The party must demand that all responsible bodies account for these investments to the last lek.

Vegetable production and supply to the population has also not been quite up to the mark in your district. The vegetable production plan itself is defective, and so is its structure. Planning for only 5 to 10 percent of the vegetable production during the first half of the year and hoping to be supplied by other districts, as has happened in Gjirokaster District, means operating in a bureaucratic manner.

The party must persist in making certain that the working people and specialists make greater efforts in raising the efficiency of investments and of expenditures. Great reserves exist in the agricultural sector. On average, your district gets 45,000 leks worth of products less than the average on a republic scale.

The fact that the rate of increase in the income of cooperatives has been low for a number of years is not normal, nor is the fact that in some cooperatives the increase in production expenditures has been twice that of the increase in incomes. These disproportions have considerable

economic and social consequences for the present and the future. This explains why the accumulation funds in some cooperatives have stagnated, thus hindering the possibilities for new investments. Nor can these cooperatives reach the objectives set out with regard to increased income per working day and per person.

These phenomena are also apparent in the two agricultural enterprises in the district. With the exception of wheat, milk produced by cows, and grapes, all other products in these enterprises are showing a loss and production costs are rising. These two agricultural enterprises together effected losses amounting to 3.7 million leks in 1984, compared with a loss of 2 million leks in 1980. The situation here must change radically.

In industry and other sectors of the economy in Gjirokaster District there are also problems requiring constant attention and positive changes. The industrial production plan as a whole is being overfulfilled, but shortfalls have also been created with regard to certain kinds of products. We must also not reconcile ourselves to the fact that, with regard to comparable products and technologies in the footwear industry, synthetic fibers, and the clothing industry, the enterprises in your district have achieved a level of productivity that is considerably lower than in Korce, Permet, and Durres.

The question of the expansion of the production and variety of consumer goods must be viewed with the intention of better meeting the needs of the people and of effecting savings.

The fulfillment of planned tasks and the improvement of the living conditions of the working people require that the party organs and organizations, as well as their instruments, should struggle better to raise labor productivity and to succeed in having all workers fulfill their norms, to increase the turnover of commodities in the cities and in the countryside, and to make full and timely use of funds allocated for the construction of housing. These are important questions that must be better resolved in planning and in their implementation.

The improvements that need to be made in agriculture, industry, and other sectors cannot be achieved overnight. The main thing, however, is that the district AWP committee and the executive committee should tackle these problems earnestly and should not waste their attention on small matters. Unity in the action of all AWP bodies and their instruments at the district level and at the grassroots must be strengthened. Arise and tackle these questions, as the situation demands, struggle to become "standard-bearers of the implementation of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings," confront yourselves at all times with the party's directives and the planned tasks, and draw valuable lessons from your own work and the experience of others.

The party has always taken care to have Gjirokaster progress, to have the life of its people improve. Special care has been devoted in particular to developing and increasing the well-being of the minority population living in this district.

Even during the National Liberation Struggle, Comrade Enver used to affirm that the members of the Greek minority were closely linked with the party and were fighting selflessly for the country's liberation and social emancipation. Comrade Enver had a great affection and respect for the Greek minority in Albania. He was a consistent fighter for radical transformations in the living standards of the Greek minority.

The members of the minority occupy a respected social position throughout the country. They elect and are elected to all organs and all levels. In the Dropull region, it is the members of the minority themselves who are working and leading as party workers and specialists. They enjoy the right to use their mother tongue, and they possess the means to cultivate and perfect it: schools, radio stations, publications, and newspapers. The people of the minority are preserving and developing their own cultural traditions.

The preservation and development of the cultural traditions of the minority serve the diversity and enrichment of the new socialist culture that has been and is being created in our country. This also helps to increase the ideo-artistic values of the Greek culture as a whole.

Measures will be adopted to extend and improve irrigation in two cooperatives of the Dropull region in order to further develop agriculture there. It is expected that the water of the Kakavija River will be used to irrigate 500 hectares and to further improve irrigation on an additional 500 hectares. An irrigation reservoir of 1 million cubic meters will be built at Radat, in the Peshkepi area. These two projects are to be completed through mass actions in 1986.

The implementation of the considerable tasks in the field of the economy, but also in other fields, is directly related to the strengthening of the party's work. More lively, more extensive, and more efficient activity is presently required of all communists, of all the party.

This is essential because of certain known difficulties arising from this year's weather conditions, the unprecedented severe winter in the northern districts and the prolonged drought throughout the country; because of certain nonfulfillment of plans in important branches of the economy; and because of the increased bourgeois-revisionist pressure and the greater effect of the world economic crisis on our country.

Some of these difficulties, which it is not in our power to control, are exacerbated sometimes by our cadres who create other difficulties of a subjective nature, arising from a lack of responsibility, weaknesses and shortcomings in organization, carelessness and laziness, incompetence, complacency, and so forth. This must not be permitted to happen.

The demand for the further revitalization of the party arises also from the dynamic of our life itself. Not only are high yields and production technologies, and norms becoming more rapidly outdated, but also are the forms and practices of organization, as well as the forms and practices of

control. It is the duty of all communists to acquaint themselves with the demands of the time and to progress in step with these demands, responding to the moment with increasingly skilled and dynamic activity.

Comrade Enver has stressed that party work is both art and science. Party work is creative work, full of passion and emotions; it is work related to objective factors, to the laws of the development of society, which must be profoundly understood; party work changes constantly from one region to the next, from one day to the next, from one social environment to the next. To carry out really efficient party work means to win over the masses, always finding the appropriate language, it means operating with imagination at all times and in all situations.

Party work is very extensive. In our society there is no field of life that is not related to the party line and policy. But this also gives rise to the danger that party work may be transformed into a general activity or, conversely, that it may become narrowed down to technical and professional analyses. This danger can be totally eliminated when the communists are specialists in the party line, when they become masters of the art of communicating warmly with the masses, when they are innovative in their work. Our propaganda media are right in reflecting and in stimulating technical innovations in production, but it is also necessary that they should more widely analyze the example of the innovators of party work.

Party work knows no schedule and communication between the party worker and the people is not achieved in offices. The party worker's duty is primarily to go among the people himself. Circulars and orders are normal for officials, even essential, but the party worker cannot do his work with such means. He does not order the masses, but persuades them to act in accordance with the party's directives. The communist works to implant his own ideal among the people, he does this by day and by night, wherever he may be. He does not do this in order to perform a duty, but in order to deserve the great honor of being a party member.

Communists must be the most beloved and respected of all people. If a communist wants his word to strike roots in the collective, in the minds of people--and he undoubtedly wants this--it is essential that he should live with the people spiritually, that he should be together with the working people. The party member must work and distinguish himself over all others in order to give himself the moral right to criticize weaknesses and shortcomings and to call the undisciplined to account. The same applies with regard to the activity of the party and state apparatuses. When leading party and state people in the districts get to know the masses systematically, when they acquaint themselves with the advanced ideas of the masses on whatever problem is causing concern, they can set in motion entire apparatuses, they can shake out the dust of officialdom and bring them nearer to the masses. The experience of the Lushnje District AWP Committee, as well as the experience in other districts, offer an example of this.

The party wishes Gjirokaster to remain constantly in the lead. To all Albanians, but particularly to you, the people of Gjirokaster, it is a great question of honor to fight with all your might and energies in order to implement Comrade Enver's instructions and advice, to honor his memory with work and constant achievements. This requires from Gjirokaster District that it advance rapidly, that it place itself in a more leading position, and that it become an example to all other districts throughout the country.

The party is convinced that our Gjirokaster, the birthplace of our unforgettable comrade, Enver Hoxha, will fulfill its responsibility, that it will resolve this great question of honor to the end, placing itself very soon in the lead of the standard-bearers of the implementation of Comrade Enver's teachings.

Long live the party!

Glory to the immortal deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha!

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ALBANIA

NEW SCHOOL YEAR IN 'ENVER HOXHA' UNIVERSITY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Oct 85 p 3

[Article: "The 'Enver Hoxha' University in the New School Year" - Interview of Comrade Xhemal Dini, first secretary of the Party Committee of the University, given to our editor]

[Text] [Question] "What are the distinctive features of this school year?"

[Answer] September 1 this year finds the "Enver Hoxha" University prepared in an all-round manner to begin the battle for knowledge and culture with new strength and energy. This school year has its special characteristics for the University of Tirana, special characteristics which increase even more the responsibility of the collective of students and teachers. The great honor extended to the University in giving it the name of our dear Leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, filled us with joy and pride, but also with concern and the responsibility so that we might deserve and always exalt the glorious name of Comrade Enver.

This year over 12,000 students sit in the lecture halls of Enver Hoxha University, about 2,000 of them without interrupting employment. Some 2,685 students are pursuing higher education for the first time. Eighteen hundred teachers and assistants, both staff and contract, will give instruction. They will develop 29 new courses, including the branches of statistics, city planning, and roads and bridges. About 600 persons will be trained in 35 graduate level courses. The school year begins with improved material resources.

The university is a reflection of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, of its concern and that of Comrade Enver Hoxhas that the young generation of socialist Albania be equipped with socialist knowledge and culture. In order to put into practice the Politburo guidelines of June 1982, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the recommendations of Comrade Ramiz Alia in the meeting with the cadres of the university, all measures have been taken to raise to the level demanded by our time the content of the ideological and scientific materials which our school of higher education develops today, to perfect the method of giving instruction, and to make room better than hitherto for new and essential scientific information.

One important feature which will characterize the teaching process in our school of higher education is the strengthening of the basic theoretical

materials such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and also specialized theoretical materials. Their programs will be improved up to the level of contemporary sciences, using new methods.

The draft-plan of scientific work for this year and the 5-year period ahead assures a better coordination of the subject matter of scientific work among the departments within the faculties, among the faculties within the university, and between the university and the ministries, institutions and economic enterprises, in order to solve the important problems occasioned by the present and future development of the country.

[Question] "What objectives have the communists and workers of the "Enver Hoxha" University of Tirana set for themselves in the framework of the movement 'Flag-bearers of the Application of the Teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha'?"

[Answer] Just like all the workers of our country, the communists, teachers and students of the university are also involved extensively in the revolutionary movement 'Flag-bearers of the Application of the Teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.' In that framework they have obligated themselves to raise the level and the quality of the teaching, educational and scientific process. For this they are struggling to assimilate thoroughly the theoretical-scientific thought of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the rich heritage which he left us in the field of education, and of Albanian culture and science. The organizations of the party and under their leadership, the state organs have taken all measures so that in the framework of the teaching and educational process, the teachers and students of the university will study and assimilate the concepts of the most important writings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. In cooperation with the departments of Marxist-Leninist studies a series of works has been defined which will be the object of a thorough and active study throughout the year by the students and teachers.

Besides this, in each college the students and teachers will study and assimilate according to schedule, individual works of Comrade Enver Hoxha related to each specialty and branch. Thus the communists, workers and students of the Faculty of Political Science will have at the foundation of their work the study of the theoretical philosophical thought of Comrade Enver Hoxha; those of the Economics Faculty the work of Comrade Enver Hoxha "On the Seventh 5-year Plan;" those of the Faculty of Geology and Mines the work "On Oil;" those of the Faculty of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering and Construction the thoughts of Comrade Enver Hoxha on these sciences and in general, on the development of the technical-scientific revolution.

All of this activity, accompanied also by exchanges of opinions, debates and discussions, will serve to enliven the ideological and scientific life of the students and teachers, to increase upon this base their feeling of responsibility for the fulfillment of the very important tasks which confront our schools of higher education today in the field of teaching, education and science.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NEW YORK, PRAGUE EXCHANGE OF PAINTINGS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 85 p 5

[Article by Peter Kovac: "Nine Paintings From New York"]

[Text] Even longer-term loans of creative art among important world galleries are no exception or accident today. In this activity our Prague National Gallery has demonstrated initiative on the international scene and its activities frequently represent a hand extended toward cooperation in true friendship--an offer which is all the more significant because we often lend paintings to foreign countries which represent an extraordinary value. Let us concentrate on two specific cases, since, thanks to them, we may admire a number of paintings from the Museum of Modern Art in New York at the Sternberg Palace in Prague through the end of March 1986.

This American gallery, which was established in 1929, is the principal institution today to attract attention both as a result of its numerous collections of modern art as well as through its interest in exhibits. For one of these in 1980--it was a great retrospective of Pablo Picasso--eight key master works were loaned by Prague and the fact that this was truly a significant loan is attested to by the fact that the "Prague" Picasso self-portrait was selected as the "motto" of the entire exhibit and was used on the cover of the extensive catalogue as well as on the poster advertising the exhibit. The situation was similar recently in the case of the great Henry Rousseau exhibit, where this honor was once more bestowed upon his famous self-portrait from the collections at our National Gallery. In return, nine modern art paintings have now been brought to Prague from New York.

Cezanne--"the father of modern painting"--is represented here by, what is for him, a characteristic landscape motif from the period when he was still close to his impressionistic associates but when he was already preparing his personal "composition" which had such a stimulating effect on many other artists. The Picasso is fabulous. While our collection shows sufficient examples of the cubist period, here we have a work whose center of gravity stems from the following "classicist" phase of the painter's art and simultaneously continues to utilize cubism. It betrays Picasso's feelings for seclusion, composed from ordinary things, and his ability to take a new and pioneering look at facts. Mondrian, Leger and Kupka display various forms of the nascent abstract school; while Mondrian was discovering his lifelong program (which was fairly

one-sided, stereotype and actually quite restrictive on him), Leger was doing more experimenting, the results of which he would exploit later in another direction, aimed more at communicativeness; finally, the Kupka shows a connection between the abstract and the portrait in an interesting dialogue which is somewhat related to the late 19th century problems of the relationship between the decorative surface and the human figure. Chagall is represented by a characteristic world of symbolism from which a sleeping city, a hand holding a violin, or even embracing lovers are not missing. The Chirico is represented by a small landscape which connects "intimacy" with the strict precision of the subject. Miro is unmistakably playful and, finally, the Balthus portrait represents the rediscovered appreciation of the values of realism which were recently hailed in the West as "a great discovery."

For us, the exhibition of paintings from New York is once again an interesting comparison with our collection and, in the interest of confrontation, proves the quality of the collections at the National Gallery as well as the historical position the paintings concentrated here play in the history of modern art. Furthermore, it is possible to study the "manuscript" of the artist's work from a period which we do not have represented in Czechoslovakia, or to study artists who are missing from our collections.

In connection with the ongoing Budapest Cultural Forum, such a campaign is something more than a matter of interest or artistic instruction. It points to the possibility of mutual cooperation, it is an opportunity for deeper universal recognition and the majority of our people also understand it to be a manifestation of confidence and respect. American audiences surely approach the important Toulouse-Lautrec painting of the Moulin Rouge, which the Prague National Gallery has loaned the New York Museum of Modern Art through the end of January of next year, with the same feelings.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COMMENT ON AMERICAN CRITICISM OF CULTURAL POLICY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 85 p 6

[Article by Gejza Vilcek: "They Have Turned Something Scandalous Into Something Munificent"]

[Text] (From our correspondent in Budapest)--The cultural forum in Budapest is entering its final phase. This week private negotiations of the two working groups will continue and next week will belong to the final plenary sessions. Even though the forum is scheduled to last 6 weeks, it appears that the danger of certain time constraints threatens because of the quantity of proposals which have thus far been put forward (they number almost 200); they must be edited into a form which is acceptable to each delegation.

Even in the face of time constraints, some delegates from the United States and from Great Britain, instead of agreeing with the delegation from Poland, which suggested that an editorial group be created for this topical purpose, constantly bring up shop-worn "phonograph records" dealing with the "freedom of creativity" and the "free flow of information." In an uninformed manner and, sometimes, even primitively they bring up the names of various authors and demand explanations about their alleged "internment," their "forced work projects," the "prohibition of publication" which is in effect against them, etc. It is a fact that they promptly receive clarification and the result is a disgrace for them because they only prove that they are informed at the level of the tabloid press.

At the Friday joint session of the groups, the most brutal attack was the repulsive misuse of the name of the national artist Jaroslav Seifert by the American delegate. Despite the fact that national artist Jan Pilar had already brought this question into its correct context once before, the "discussion partner" continues to hold to his own version. That is why our delegation took a roughly 40-cm-tall stack of the most recent publications of the works of J. Seifert and solemnly gifted the American delegation with them. Without looking at the tirage and the year of publication, the American representatives began to claim that it is true that books were published but only after the author received the Nobel Prize.

Our delegate had to rise and read the year of publication of one book after another (since 1970 there have been 23) and to list the number of copies

printed (320,000). He earned the sincere applause of all in the room--something which is unique in similar proceedings. Stormy laughter was aimed at the American delegation which had previously gotten into trouble with regard to the question of illiteracy in the United States and which had actually appeared unable to read the year of publication in the gifted books....

Such and similar obstructions keep the delegates from substantive negotiations. Today it is already completely clear that some members of some delegations are obviously interested in the political lack of will to come to an agreement.

However, as stressed by the permanent deputy chief of the Czechoslovak delegation, Ambassador Ilja Hulinsky, in a conversation with the Soviet journal SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, while differences in the understanding of individual questions which were dealt with by the forum may exist, it is possible to reach agreement with respect to substantive questions dealing with expansion of cooperation.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HOUSE OF SLOVAK CULTURE OPENS IN PRAGUE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Nov 85 p 2

[Text] On Wednesday, the House of Slovak Culture, whose goal will be to continue the development of mutuality and cooperation between the Czech and Slovak people, was solemnly opened in Prague on Purkyne Street.

The solemn inauguration of its activities was attended by members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ--Premier Josef Kordak of the CSR and the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, Jozef Lenart; other attendees included delegations from the local committee of the CPCZ and of the Capital City of Prague, headed by member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and leading secretary of the Prague party organization, Antonin Kapek, and delegations from the local committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia and the National Committee of the Capital City of Bratislava, headed by member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia and leading secretary of the local committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia in Bratislava, Gejza Slapko, and other dignitaries.

The lord mayor of the capital city of Prague, Frantisek Stafa, evaluated the more than 10 years of work done by the Club of Slovak Culture in the capital city of the CSSR and stated his conviction that the new facility will contribute additional impulses to its work and will bring rich Slovak creativity, its best authors and interpreters closer to the public of Prague.

Jozef Lenart and Antonin Kapek inaugurated the activities of this center through the symbolic cutting of a ribbon and by wishing the House of Slovak Culture much success in the future.

A cultural program on the occasion featured national artist Josef Vetrovec, meritorious artist Peter Toperczer, and other Czech and Slovak artists.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JPRS-EPS-85-123
17 December 1985

VALEK SUPPORTS CULTURAL EXCHANGE

Prague KMEN in Czech 6 Nov 85 p 1

[Text of speech by Miroslav Valek, minister of culture of the SSR, at the Budapest session of the Cultural Forum on 15 Oct 1985: "Man's Future is Essential"]

[Text] In the past months and years, we have been the involuntary witnesses of how the world, full of contradictions, has been developing and changing: from the cold war to the Helsinki Conference and political detente, from that policy back to attempts to take the world back to the Ice Age, in the political sense of the term. This is a simplified curve of developments. At one point it offers us more hope and at another it arouses in us legitimate and constantly growing fears. There are well-founded questions which I think every intelligent person in the world asks, questions such as: What will tomorrow bring? Where is the world rushing to? Where are we headed to? But there are also other questions which can arouse skepticism and anxiety in us. We ask ourselves and each other whether mankind is capable of bearing up under the weight of its own civilization, whether man is sufficiently intelligent not to destroy himself with his own intelligence, which has discovered so much unknown in science and technology, but who has so far not been able to avoid causing homo sapiens as a species ending up on the blacklist of those life forms which are threatened by extinction.

I said that we are witnesses to this development, but I did not express myself precisely. We are not only its witnesses, we are its direct participants and thus it is on us and on our foresight, political wisdom, restraint, and good will to understand each other that the future of the world, of civilization, and of culture to no small degree depend.

True, culture has no weapon which it could use to prevent its destruction. But it is itself a weapon, because the principle of creativity, which is its basis, predetermines the attitude of culture to the world's current dilemma. It is the dilemma of two mutually exclusive possibilities: war or peace. Life or death. Culture has a great capability for defending life. It is what lights the sweet flame of understanding in man. It has the key to the infinite spaces of the human spirit. Culture can and must defend the right to life, that most basic human right, or otherwise it would deny its own essence.

The Budapest cultural forum in which we are participating, which is a logical result of the Helsinki Conference and whose mandate appeared at the Madrid conference, is a concrete opportunity for us to find out whether we want to, and can understand, each other; whether we want, and are able, to cooperate; whether culture and the exchange of cultural values is actually the means which can, as is often said, contribute to understanding between nations, to better mutual understanding, and to the creation of the trust between people which is so necessary. I think that it is an opportunity which we should not squander through purposeless references to differences in ideology and world views. In the final analysis, these are neither diseases nor crimes, but a historical fact which must be borne in mind. Neither should we waste time in polemics about what culture actually is, what can be called cultural values, and what hierarchy we feel should be assigned to those values. Culture survives, even if each person explains it in his own way. Indeed, if I am not mistaken, the field of culture is just where it is characteristic that no value coming into being negates a previous value, but on the contrary joins in with it to create a cultural tradition and thus multiplies the influence of culture on the consciousness of the individual and society.

Neither the studies of the cultural historian nor the average man looking for the roots of his national culture and comparing it with the cultural traditions of other nations can fail to find that the source from which this or that culture fed and grew are often common sources. As far as we are concerned, even today we adhere to the traditions of European culture, to those of them which brought social progress. This is understandable, for indeed our nations contributed to its creation through their actions. But at the same time, we consider it essential that we integrate all lasting values of world culture into our world of thought and feelings. "You can become a Communist only if you enrich your knowledge with everything that mankind has created." Lenin said this, and he said it just this way. I underscore this fact because today it is becoming the mode to attribute to him things that he did not say, or to quote him inaccurately.

The speeches of the esteemed speakers who preceded me contained several warning thought about which we must think. We are at the very beginning of our meeting, at the very beginning of an exchange of opinions, and it would be premature to speak categorically and put an exclamation point at the end of each sentence and not to subject our thoughts and opinions to analytical investigation. The members of our delegations in the course of the following days will exchange their views about culture, about art, and about questions connected with them. We would like to see this exchange of views transformed into an opportunity to work out an actual constructive program of cultural cooperation between the signatories of the Helsinki document in the near future. But for a beginning, it is possible that less would be enough, if behind our words there was a resolve to express them in concrete actions. What can prevent us from doing this?

There are more than a few outstanding artists and scientists in the delegations of the individual countries, people each of whom has his own world of thoughts and his own opinions about art and culture, their meaning and content, and the possibilities for using them. I think that in spite of the differences in all

opinions there exist as well matters, matters on which we can all agree, matters which are in the final analysis the essential ones for the development of culture because they are the matters touching on its existence itself, matters, so to speak, applying to all people which arise from the fact that one person as a human being does not differ in his wishes and desires from any other person to a degree where the basic problems of human existence are substantially the same and the only difference is just in the approach to them, the only difference is just the view of them, of the reasons for them, and on the ways to resolve them.

Permit me to declare in the name of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Budapest forum that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic as a participant and signatory of the Helsinki Conference feels itself fully bound by its conclusions is carrying them out, and is determined to carry them out further. Therefore, it also comes to this meeting with the good intentions of contributing constructive work to its success and is prepared openly to discuss all problems, truly, at a serious level, without demagoguery, without political adventurism, and without interfering in the internal affairs of the individual countries.

I would like to put forth from this podium some thoughts which we can consider and which, as we assume, have a broader significance. This has to do with the exchange of cultural values, which we rarely analyze as to the actual situations to be found in the countries between which the exchange takes place. It seems to me that in the exchange of cultural values if it does not take place so as to guarantee mutuality, then there are some countries which will be discriminated against to a considerable degree, either because of language barriers or for reasons of an economic or political nature. This is not because they usually receive more than they send out, since in the exchange of cultural values it is not a matter of a quantitative balance, even though in the communication of culture, one-way operations often lead to a blind alley; but mainly because the enormous production of the so-called culture industry causes pressure and disorientation and has a tendency to take place at the expense of what we are in the habit of calling values in the export and import of culture, but what in some cases we can call this only with great embarrassment. It is, after all, a question as to how the size of one country or another appears as far as culture is concerned. Is its size determined by the quantity of works of art, television programs, or films produced? Is it in the number of books or phonograph records published or does it consist of the spirit itself, of how and by what means the individual national culture influenced people's thinking, how and how much it contributed to humanizing the world, to social progress, to strengthening the human personality, and to cultivating mutual relations? We are for the second possibility and we reject the brutal dictates of culture of debased taste, the cult of force, and the propagation of intolerance between nations.

We are convinced that the mutually beneficial exchange of cultural values requires not only their careful selection and a deliberate proportionality, but also that it take place under comparable conditions.

This naturally requires that in all countries there be full implementation of the right of access to cultural values and of their use. Undoubtedly, it is

necessary to add to this the right to education, which in this case we understand to be a technical minimum, on which, together with other factors, depends also the ability to take in cultural values in their historic and social circumstances and to understand them. The right to work also inseparably belongs here because unresolved problems of existence and social insecurity do not stimulate the will of a person for cultural growth. In our opinion, access to cultural values should be secured for everyone under the same and acceptable conditions, without regard to their social position, color of their skin, or religious convictions.

In my speech, I do not wish to, nor could I, cover all the problems which there currently are and about which we need to talk. I only wanted to point out the complexity and diversity of the problems with which the Budapest forum will deal. I think that most of them can be solved. No, it is not a matter of us trying to change each others' ideology, world view, or basic attitudes. What can be changed about the fact that many of us have different colored eyes and also different views of one and the same thing? What is important is for everyone to see what is essential. What is essential is for our actions here, at this meeting, to assist every positive movement in the international arena and cooperation between nations, and not the opposite. What is essential is that the future of culture and art is also to a considerable degree the future of man. The future of man is what is essential.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

TEENAGERS' NEEDS NEGLECTED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Hana Labudova: "Let Us Offer More Opportunities"]

[Text] There has been considerable response to our editorial of 10 September 1985, in which we noted the still unsatisfactory opportunities we provide for our children and teenagers to devote their leisure time to useful pursuits.

We stated the following in this editorial: "The consequences of these shortcomings affect primarily adolescents, yet it is precisely at that age that we should attract young peoples' attention, rather than literally abandoning them to the mercy of street gangs or other types of harmful environment." We also emphasized that the way children and adolescents spend their free time is of importance for them, as well as society. Leisure activities at this age often affect the formation of a young person's personality more than education, work or even the family. We are failing to achieve positive changes in the education and guidance of the young generation precisely because we do not create objectively better material, suitable space and cadre conditions. The experiences of readers who wrote to us seem to confirm this. From many letters, we have selected the following two.

Reader M. Menclova of Prague 8 writes: "The citizens' committee in the Bohnice settlement, where I worked for 10 years, did its best to help the young people. Unfortunately, the committee had no real authority, nor any financial means; consequently, our efforts were mostly ineffective. The needs of children and teenagers were obviously ignored in the planning stages of the settlement, since there are no reserved rooms in the buildings where the young could congregate in their free time, yet the 13- to 15-year olds who represent the majority have a real need to meet with their peers. The boys are still too young to visit the beer hall which seems to be the only form of entertainment in the settlement. Even our committee had to meet in a storage room for baby carriages." The writer also asks why the two libraries at the settlement are closed over the weekends, while the house of culture, built at great expense, is also closed on Saturdays and on Sundays offers only a brass band in which the young have no interest. Another example cited by the reader was when two fifteen-year old boys who were interested in electronics asked the citizens' committee where they could find such an interest group near their school or residence. In 2 years, the committee has been unable to provide any answers.

Such a case also tells us something else, namely, that the work of the youth union organization in these boys' school or place of residence (if there is one at all) is weak. It would be logical for the young to turn for help to such an organization, as is the case in those places where the youth union enjoys teenagers' confidences.

Another reader, Otilie Hajkova from Lovosice, writes: "Having read your editorial, my blood pressure went up and I believe my views will be shared by many of us who have been discussing and criticizing the shortcomings you mention. Those of us who carefully observe our neighborhoods, see beautiful school buildings, luxuriously furnished, with attractive sports areas around them. Yet, most of the time, these areas are empty, actually used by the students only during physical education classes. The rest of their leisure time, they engage in undesirable activities out of sheer boredom. Let us be done with empty talk and let us do what we must, namely, let us open these playgrounds for the children, so they can go there after school hours to run, exercise, engage in sports and enjoy the collective. This will satisfy the parents as well, since they will no longer have to worry where their children roam." As also stated by the first writer, M. Menclova, "we need a thoughtful concept and when the government makes a decision, someone must also carry it out."

In the editorial we mentioned the principles of public influence on the leisure time activities of children and adolescents, adopted early this year by the government of the Czech Socialist Republic and also introduced in Slovakia. We noted the need to coordinate the effort toward this goal in all state and economic organs, in culture, education, and social organizations. We also mentioned--and must again emphasize--that the decisive role in creating material, technical and organizational conditions for this purpose rests on the National Committees, in close cooperation with the Socialist Youth Union. We find, however, that not all responsible officials are even aware of the adopted principles, and that there are still places which, unlike most, have not even begun to implement this directive. This refers to "Operation Open Playgrounds," as well as another important program, namely, youth participation in scientific and technological development. Thus, certain officials have not yet fully recognized their responsibilities. We have yet to receive one single letter from National Committee officials, which is a pity. They are the ones who should tell us about their experiences and what they propose to do about this problem in the future. There are many examples worth emulating, not enough, however, considering the needs in the education of our young people.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ATOMIC ENERGY IS SOLUTION TO ENERGY CRISIS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Nov 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Nuclear Energy and the Environment"]

[Excerpt] In the next 2 or 3 decades, mankind as a whole will have to solve a number of important problems having to do with the fact that halting the population explosion will not be successful and that the number of inhabitants of the earth will grow in 15 years from the current 4.5 billion to 6 to 7 billion people. The population of the globe grows at an annual rate of 90 million people. The assurance of adequate energy, raw materials, foodstuffs, and water while protecting the environment is a problem of significant political and economic importance. To accommodate the needs of this increment in population, it is necessary to expand the area of arable land each year by 18 million hectares, to produce roughly 45 million tons of foodstuffs, to assure 48 million cubic meters of water, to create electric power plants with an overall output of 9,000 to 90,000 MW, etc. For each child born it is necessary to assure the following basic material resources: 0.2 hectare of land, 500 kg of food per year, 2.2 liters of water per day, 45.3 kg of artificial fertilizer per year, 0.1-1 kw of electricity output per day. All of this clearly indicates that without utilizing a new and mighty energy resource, the further development of human civilization would be in jeopardy.

Until recently, the rapid development of world economics was based, for the most part, on the utilization of fossil fuels--coal, natural gas, and petroleum. These resources covered as much as 85 percent of the world energy requirements. However, supplies of these resources are not endless; on the contrary, we have already exhausted a considerable portion of them. Also, the energy of waterways has already been utilized and reserves in this area are not great. And so the question arises, quite logically, as to which energy resources are sufficiently powerful and can be utilized in a short period, so as to replace the dwindling supplies of petroleum. Primarily, this pertains to coal and nuclear energy. However, as far as coal is concerned, its increased consumption and current forms would mean a great risk for the environment, carrying with it possible global climatic consequences. For example, a typical coal-fired electric power plant with a capacity of 380 MW releases a daily average of 75 tons of sulfur dioxide, 16 tons of nitrogen dioxide, 5 tons of fly ash, and hundreds of tons of carbon monoxide into the atmosphere. The dispersion of radioisotopes from the fly ash sometimes exceeds four times

the limits permitted for nuclear power plants of a comparable output. For this reason, nuclear energy presents a way out with respect to solving the energy problems, both from the medium-range as well as the long-range viewpoint. This is true both with respect to thermal as well as high-speed reactors, and on the basis of thermonuclear reactors. Furthermore, nuclear energy will help to more effectively utilize coal itself without threatening the quality of the environment by making it possible to transform it to ecologically cleaner synthetic liquid and gaseous fuels.

Naturally, the utilization of nuclear energy for energy purposes has its detractors. They claim that the growing energy and ecological problems could be more easily solved if the countries of the world adopted the principle of so-called zero-growth economy. The connection here is clear--the determining factors involved in the development of material production and human civilization in general include energy resources which are available during the given phase of human development, as well as the quantity of energy used. There is a close relationship between the consumption of energy and the gross national product. Even though it is not precise, the maxim generally applies that the higher the consumption of energy, the higher the value of the gross national product per inhabitant. If the theory of zero growth in the economy were to prevail, it would mean that the majority of people who are striving for a higher standard of living would have to voluntarily lower it in the interest of conserving energy or because the distorted information with regard to the dangers of nuclear energy had frightened them off. However, this cannot be readily anticipated. Nevertheless, the economy cannot help but grow as a result of the above-mentioned annual growth of population.

By the end of 1982, the world had some 294 electric energy reactors with a total output of 173,000 MW. Through the entire period of the existence of nuclear energy, not a single person from among the nonparticipating public has died as a result of a radiation accident in nuclear power plants. A large number of calculations pertaining to the probability of such an accident exist. For example, it is said that the likelihood of death as a result of an accident at a reactor is on the level of the likelihood of death from a falling meteorite. The likelihood of an accident in which more than 100 persons may perish is roughly the same as the likelihood of the fall of a meteorite on a fully occupied stadium--this could occur once in 10 million years. Or let us look at another calculation--say that the Egyptian Pharaoh Cheops had ordered 20 nuclear power plants to be built in place of the pyramids at the beginning of the 3d millennium before our era and let us assume that these nuclear power plants were active to this day, such an accident might have happened only once.

Not infrequently, one can encounter the secretive but "guaranteed believable" whisperings concerning radiation in the surroundings of a nuclear power plant. Every human effort is accompanied by a risk. We tend to accept relatively high risks voluntarily, for example, with respect to motoring, which causes roughly 2,000 fatalities on the highways of Czechoslovakia per year. Nevertheless, we do not permit this risk to be taken from us. A 25-percent increase in body weight reduces our longevity by approximately 3.6 years; the life of man in a city, compared to that of a person living in the country, is

shorter by 5 years, the smoking of two packs of cigarettes per day shortens life by 7 to 10 years. Compared to these statistics, the influence of nuclear energy shortens our life currently by 24 seconds. In other words, the technology of producing electric energy from the nucleus of the atom is one of the safest of human industrial activities. Even when working within a nuclear power plant, an individual is subjected to an incomparable lower degree of risk than while commuting to work. Every inhabitant of our planet is constantly exposed to the effects of radiation from natural sources of an external character (cosmic radiation, earth radiation) and of an internal character (for example, from potassium--40, which is contained in the human body). The average universal radiation dose per individual inhabitant per year is 1 millisievert (100 millirems). Thirty years of experience in operating nuclear power plants show that the radiation doses are roughly 100 times lower than the level of natural background radiation. For the disbelievers, let us add that increasing the dose by a magnitude which would correspond to the average dosage to which inhabitants in the vicinity of a nuclear power plant might be exposed per year can also be achieved by moving to a region which is located 30 meters higher than our present abode, by increasing our food intake by 4 percent, by watching 1 hour more of television per day, by flying for 1 hour in an aircraft at an altitude of 10 km. However, in subjecting ourselves to an X-ray examination, we receive a dose which is 20 times higher.

The utilization of nuclear energy undoubtedly has a positive ecological significance even in other areas. From the energy standpoint, 1 kg of nuclear fuel--uranium, which is consumed in a nuclear reactor--is equivalent to roughly 3 million kg of coal. The year-round operation of a nuclear power plant with an output of 1,000 MW requires approximately 40 tons of nuclear fuel, representing a train consisting of six hopper cars. A conventional power plant with the same output requires roughly 5 million tons of coal for its operation for the year, which represents roughly 100,000 hopper cars. It is true that the coal must first be extracted, in other words, again devastating the countryside, must be transported by rail, must be unloaded, must be charged into the power plant, etc.

The times in which we live are justly called the atomic era. Man cracked the atom and learned how to use the energy of its nucleus. It is precisely this energy which is capable of fulfilling the constantly growing energy needs of mankind. Czechoslovakia, as a result of close cooperation with the Soviet Union, currently has in operation five reactors with a total output of 2,200 MW. We have boarded the moving train of the only long-term utilization mode for nuclear power to produce energy in time. We are among the countries which not only utilize nuclear energy but we also count among those who are capable of producing all the decisive components of a nuclear power plant. The development of our nuclear energy is an active step in assuring the existence of succeeding generations and, therefore, its development counts among the all-societal priorities.

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CSO: 2400/61

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

TEENAGE WOULD-BE-EMIGRE DETAINED--On the morning of Thursday, 24 October, a serious crime was committed by O.V., a minor from Brno. Under threat of physical harm to children and employees of a nursery in Brno-Bohunice, the armed perpetrator demanded to emigrate. Through timely and resolute action by the security forces, the criminal was rendered harmless and detained with the procurator's approval. No one was injured during his arrest. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Oct 85 p 2] 9496/13045

CSO: 2400/53

HUNGARY

POSITIVE INFLUENCES OF CHURCH ON SOCIETY PRAISED

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Sep 1985 pp 4-5

[Article by Janos Jori: "Contemporary Hungarian Society and Religion"; passage enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] The debate began with Miklos Tomka's article "Religion's Role in Our Society" in the January 1985 issue of KRITIKA. In the May 1985 issue, Imre Valcsicsak argued against Tomka, who immediately replied. What I would like to discuss was not directly touched upon by Valcsicsak, who challenges Tomka, and the closing lines of Tomka's reply only confirmed that his concept of religion's role in our society requires amplification. I quote: "There are those who compare religion to a lighthouse to which the ships turn their attention but at which they do not drop anchor. There are those who view religion as a magnetic needle. It is not obligatory to take the latter into account. /But he who wants to achieve his goal more quickly does better if he aligns himself with it./ This debate is open...We do not know which--today, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow--stands closer to Hungarian society's frame of mind. Just one thing is for sure. A lot of persons let their thoughts dwell on the idea that there is a lighthouse (or a magnetic needle)." (The italics are mine--J.J.)

Even more unambiguously present in this formulation is that which I found lacking in Tomka's first article. I do not deny--and I stand in opposition to Valcsicsak--that there are in our society those who really have this kind of specific "magnetic needle" concept of religion (hence not "religion" as such), which here and now assures the sensible lifestyle--one that promises fulfillment--hoped for by its follower, acting for the benefit of fatherland and humanity. A well-defined portion of those who do not believe in religion also values and esteems this lifestyle as a "lighthouse" on which he who follows his own "magnetic needle" keeps an eye during his voyages.

That is to say: in contemporary Hungarian society, alongside the transcendental magnetic needle of religion, there is also an immanent magnetic needle which is at least as much a lighthouse for believers--if not more so--than the other way around.

The image of religion's role in our society is ambiguous if we forget that there is another "magnetic needle" as well.

* * *

The reader is undoubtedly aware that in our country a significant change in the Marxist concept of religion has occurred during the last 4 decades.

In the first place, it is customary to mention the so-called "fifties" as a period which stifled not only churches but also believers. Yet despite the fact that the then official standpoint viewed religion simply as a relic of the past, as the enemy of science and social progress, as the protector of the exploiting classes' interests, as the deceiver of the exploited, etc, and did everything to repress religion, the real setback for religion in our land is discernible only from the mid-1960s on. (Miklos Tomka's article in the January 1985 issue of KRITIKA gives evidence for this, but there are other--even ecclesiastical--sources as well.)

It is unfortunate that traces of the vulgar concept are also perceptible in Valcsicsak, above all when he interprets the believer's activity which serves social progress. He does not declare but does in the last analysis suggest that such activity is not motivated by religion since "religion can be the motive for very dissimilar social activity." This is true but it does not follow that in activity of a progressive turn the link to transcendence could not play a role, even as a crucial motivating factor. Marx: "The poverty of religion is an expression of genuine poverty and at the same time a protest against genuine poverty." Religion itself may thus be a protest against dehumanized conditions. It may have been--and today still is--possible to act specifically for progress and humanity out of religious motives. Therefore, any form of religion is not in essence "escape." In Tomka, on the other hand, this problem appears in reverse order. The only thing he discusses in his first article is that "internal" religion, individually but also collectively, stimulates positive deeds, and he emphasizes this in his May reply, giving prominence to the Latin American theology and movement of liberation.

He does not mention that in the modern Universal Catholic Church these endeavors clash with the Catholic concept of Christianity, according to the Theological Congregation and the Pope. The Pope not only requires that the clergy be apolitical but also expects--in contrast to his predecessors--that the faithful be nonviolent in every situation.

The practice of religious and ecclesiastical policy since the 1960s has been entirely different from what it was in the "fifties." From the very outset, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has not regarded the believer as a "suspicious" citizen. Nor, when it comes time to fill the most important state posts, has the party been disinclined to appoint high-level clergymen of some churches. The rapid advance of secularization in our country has not been caused by the operation of the "atheistic state's" machinery of coercion.

Secularization is a fairly contradictory process. The Enlightenment--the concept of atheism before Marx--expected this as the achievements of science became generally known. This has an undeniably rational core as well. In the total societal sense, however, the process contains contradictions which cannot be explained on the basis of these concepts. (For example, the scientist's

religiousness remains an enigma, as does the reason why the decline in religiousness is not proportionate to the increase in education: the religiousness of the more educated strata is greater than that of the less educated strata.)

"Religion is the moan of a harried creature, the soul of a heartless world, like the spirit of vapid circumstances," writes Marx in his article entitled "An Introduction to a Critique of Hegelian Legal Philosophy." According to him, religion is the "bizarre realization of human essence, because human essence has no genuine reality."

Secularization is more powerful the more aware the human being becomes that he is a creative being and not a created one who is filled with anguish due to the "inscrutable" design and will of his creator.

In our country, the second half of the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s acknowledged all this in the practice of everyday life. There occurred in our land at that time the change which took place in Western Europe and in capitalism's classic evolution after the bourgeois revolutions. In the advanced capitalist countries, though the state is not "atheistic" and society has no socialist orientation, the number of religious believers is still not unfailingly higher than in our country.

* * *

How can a human being live a sensible life in general and in contemporary Hungarian society?

Only on the basis of belief in transcendence, since religion, which withstands the storms of time, is the most durable bearer of values? There is such an illusion. But let us not forget and let us even understand in the Christian way that religion in history has always remained itself, changing only with transformations in the social mode of existence. There is no kind of religion as such the significance of which for the human being might be the same at any one time, save that only this world supplemented by transcendence can give meaning to his life. What this supplement means in terms of content is at least as changeable as earthly life itself.

And there have always been human beings who did not require transcendence to define the meaning of their lives.

There is a common motif between those who are committed to Marxism's "positive humanism" and those who promote social progress on the basis of "internal religiousness": they want to live a sensible life, which in fact entails an overstepping of their current selves. "Narrowminded fulfillment" is not their goal which--if they believe they have attained it--they cling to tenaciously and direct all their efforts solely toward maintaining the position they have achieved. On the contrary, they take the risk of possible failure that accompanies the overstepping of one's self. But there is no difference here between believer and nonbeliever. The believer can also tumble in the eyes of others, in the eyes of the masses. The mob even called for the head of Jesus.

But as nonbelievers, Laszlo Rajk and others accepted this fate: those who, even choosing death, were able to imagine the meaning of their lives only without transcendence.

Not only are there personalities such as Albert Schweitzer and Mother Teresa who live consistently for humanity but also those like Julius Fucik, Gyorgy Lukacs, or Makarenko and many nameless others among the nonbelievers. Giving, serving, helping others are not just the motives of "internal" religiousness.

Valcsicsak's debate with Tomka proves to be idle running in this respect. It is true that a few individuals by themselves can scarcely change the all-embracing essential characteristics of an historical epoch, but it is indisputable that by their personal conduct they can encourage progressive movements. Such an effort --either imbued with transcendence or without it--is objectively positive from the viewpoint of human evolution.

The key question is the future mode of such a lifestyle.

* * *

How do the believer and the nonbeliever in contemporary Hungarian society see the future? Is there a similarity between those who live the sensible life in the believer mode and those who do it in the nonbeliever style? And how do they differ from each other?

In order to answer this, allow me to express an opinion based not on theoretical presumptions but on empirical sociological studies.

The religiosociological surveys carried out since 1982 by the Department of Philosophy and Scientific Socialism at the Janus Pannonius University in Pecs have a questionnaire which asks the believer and the nonbeliever about problems --those motivated precisely by ideological persuasion--concerning our country's future. The sample for the surveyed believers is linked in some way to the churches of the cities Pecs and Debrecen, while the nonbeliever sample included students of the Baranya megye Educational Board of Directors of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

From the accompanying table it is possible to become acquainted with the questions posed and the answers.

The missing percentages mean a lack of information (could not decide, or did not answer the question).

If from the 15 questions posed we disregard those (5,9,11,13) tied to religion--to which the given answers spring plainly and unequivocally from the nature of believer/nonbeliever--then it is evident that the nonbelievers regard our country's future more optimistically. The most remarkable thing is perhaps that it is in precisely those questions in which, according to theoretical presumptions, the believers should see the future as more serene. If we also add to this that, according to 57 percent of the believers, the number of religious persons in our country will increase in the future, this statement can be regarded as even more firmly established.

Question: In your opinion,
how will some phenomena
of domestic social life
change in the future?

	<u>Will increase %</u>		<u>Will stay unchanged %</u>		<u>Will decrease %</u>	
	<u>Nonbelievers</u>	<u>Believers</u>	<u>Nonbelievers</u>	<u>Believers</u>	<u>Nonbelievers</u>	<u>Believers</u>
1. Number of children born	10.4	17.3	37.0	32.7	52.6	44.2
2. People's sense of responsibility	38.4	22.2	41.5	32.3	19.7	41.0
3. Heavy drinking	52.6	66.1	34.9	21.2	12.1	9.4
4. Moral looseness	42.6	63.0	51.2	25.1	5.2	8.7
5. Rapprochement between churches	50.9	77.2	38.1	18.1	2.4	2.1
6. Apathy	41.2	38.8	36.0	42.8	22.8	14.7
7. Suicide	43.6	48.9	39.4	33.7	12.8	8.5
8. Acquisition of culture	81.0	63.5	13.8	23.7	5.2	10.2
9. Number of religious persons	22.5	56.8	39.1	24.8	35.6	13.4
10. Pecuniary inequalities	84.1	62.8	10.4	24.8	5.2	7.7
11. High esteem of religious persons	8.3	38.7	83.0	47.9	6.6	8.2
12. Number of divorces	61.9	59.4	28.4	27.9	7.3	7.5
13. Number of respectable persons who do not believe in God	51.6	26.4	39.8	51.3	7.6	14.7
14. Crime	59.5	64.4	23.2	20.8	15.2	9.9
15. Adoration of material things	75.8	74.8	17.6	17.7	6.2	3.9

According to teachings, a Christian believer is responsible not only for himself but also for all his fellow human beings. Nevertheless, 41 percent of them declare that people's sense of responsibility will decrease in our country, and apathy will decline according to just 15 percent of them, even though they feel the number of believers will grow in the future.

At the same time, it is also evident that in the responses which judge our country's future there are, generally speaking, no great differences between believers and nonbelievers. This calls attention to the fact that people in our land do not evaluate these questions by proceeding from some sort of theological standpoint but by relying on their everyday experience. It turns out that in the primary sphere of life, the domain of everyday events, there is no fundamental difference in the judgment of the real world between our country's believer and nonbeliever citizens.

So, of course, the question is (or isn't it): who serves as an example for whom in the sense that he has the more enduring ideology?

A comment on the Tomka/Valcsicsak ethics debate seems to belong here.

Gyorgy Lukacs is quite correct when he writes: "...the church always regards its primary task as the regulation and management of people's everyday lives right down to and including the individual person (this is the tangible field of ethics, isn't it?--J.J.), and very often the church can turn into the rival, indeed the enemy, of the state, even though the basic ambition of both is to encourage, consolidate, and assure the degree of neutrality attained or attainable at any one time." (Gyorgy Lukacs, "The Ontology of Social Being," volume two, Budapest 1976, page 696.) For this very reason Valcsicsak is wrong in the concrete formulation that "society's 'official,' not religious morality organically integrates the elements of religious ethics..." Tomka is also wrong when he replies to this: "I am not, however, so certain that 'society's 'official' not religious morality organically integrates the adaptable elements of religious ethics.'" Formulated in such a general way, I do not know whether he wants it or whether he is capable of it?"

Marx considered the concept of religion itself "the negation of a negation," by which he understood that theism is contradicted by atheism but in the meantime loses everything which is valuable in religion, and therefore it must be "contradicted," i.e., preserving the valuable elements of both religion and atheism.

It is no disgrace to learn from others. In our society it is possible to learn from the believer who is committed to acting on behalf of humanity but also from the person who acts on the basis of immanent motives. The principal question of our era is: who acts affirmatively for man, humanity, its future and the values created historically by it, and who is indifferent to all this or, to be frank, acts in opposition to all this?

In this endeavor, the believer and the nonbeliever in our country can increasingly act together. For the good of man.

12327

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HUNGARY

SERIOUS TEACHER SHORTAGES IN BUDAPEST BEMOANED

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Sep 1985 p 5

[Article by Laszlo Sarkadi: "Burning Shortage"]

[Text] How can something burn which does not exist? The absurd perfection of the Hungarian language is confirmed by the fact that everyone understands this impossibility, and let us therefore not get caught up in it. We can nevertheless ponder all the more those words heard on television in the environment of which this expression gained significance. It ran something like this: there is a burning shortage of teachers in some sections of Budapest, and we must therefore continue to employ those who are uncertified. The head of the responsible department of several district councils formulated it in such a way, thereby indicating one of the decadelong and thus already ingrained and seemingly unsolvable problems of public education in Budapest. There was nothing astonishing in the statement: everyone knows this is how it is, and we have received enough explanations for this fact. The amazing thing is that today we no longer find fault with the situation. We accept this shortage as if it were some natural catastrophe, capitalism's iron law which is impossible to influence, much less change.

If my memory serves me right, I first heard about the burning shortage of teachers in Budapest at an educators' conference lasting several days in the 1960s, thus 20 years ago. A precise and pragmatic explanation followed the announcement, and there was mandatory indulgence on the part of the audience because the lecturer promised no quick change. The limited training capacity, the imprudent planning (which we could better call hurry-scurry since nothing and no one justified the shutdown of the Cukor Street teachers' training college, for example) of earlier years, and the unforeseen catastrophe of the demographic wave crest were the reasons. At the same time everyone understood it as a deplorable fact, indeed, as a kind of shortcoming which encourages better work and better use of opportunities: it was accepted because everyone believed that if we know the problem, obviously we will buckle down and find a solution.

It would be unfair to assume that since then nobody has taken an interest in the issue. All the more so because the shortage has become even "more burning" since then. We know that this year more students than ever before were accepted for teacher training at various levels. (Roughly 600 more were appointed than before.) We also know that ever since the new teachers' training college, the collegiate faculty of the University in Budapest, has been operating, replacements are being

trained locally. The accelerated and proven 3-year correspondence training of the Buda Teachers' Training College--training which can quickly be applied to practice--is now providing elementary school teachers. But nevertheless at the start of every academic year, or earlier, the alarming news is heard: burning shortage...etc.

Something is rotten somewhere in the state of Denmark. There is now an explanation, if you please, a very simple one: a shortage of money, a shortage of space, a shortage of capacity. But one slowly turns into a doubting Thomas. How can this shortage be made up? What is and what isn't there money for? And if there is no money for public education, what is there money for? Is every shortage equally critical? And the cruelest question: is it really just a matter of money? Perhaps, but one's bitter pessimism casts doubt even on this. Today there is not even the faintest hope that the shortage will cease to be critical within the foreseeable future.

There are fortunate megyes and entire districts of the country where the teacher shortage survives only as a bad memory. How did they do it? With what kind of stratagem did they avoid the Budapest catastrophe? We overcame the great floods, we overcame the harsh winter and the earthquake, but we never overcome the teacher shortage in Budapest. I deliberately did not put a mitigating question mark at the end of that sentence. It is possible on this basis to describe me as defeatist and pessimist, and I personally accept it because I no longer have any belief. Please convince me of the groundlessness of my misbelief, and then I will practice rigorous self-criticism, repent, and convert to a truer faith. But until then I will only be capable of bitterish lucubrations: I cannot do anything about it.

12327

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POLAND

JARUZELSKI ADVISER BLAMES U.S. FOR INTERNATIONAL TENSION

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish No 38, 22 Sep 85 p 5

[Interview with Major Wieslaw Gornicki, advisor to the chairman of the Council of Ministers and head of the Research Department, by Lech Lewandowski]

[Text] [Question] A multitude of different events is shaping today's world. Trying to even record these events is a difficult undertaking. How these events are selected and evaluated seem to be sometimes a task beyond one's abilities. Comrade Major, how do you handle this?

[Answer] The work of the Research Department I head does not replace the work done by party and state departments which are appointed to deal with problems of the Polish People's Republic's foreign policy. We are only a single element among many which deal with these problems, and a relatively minor element at that. I have mentioned this fact already twice in interviews with the military press. I do not care to repeat myself.

[Question] Well, let us say that there is an upheaval in one of the countries of Africa or South America. What criteria does your department apply in evaluating this event?

[Answer] We apply the same criteria which all of the others apply; Does this event support or hurt our national interests? This is the way all chambers and staffs argue the point all over the world. I have, however, to expand on this answer. Our Polish interests are inseparably bound to the positions of socialism on an historic and global scale. Hence, the context of your question is neither parochial nor provincial. Poland belongs to the community of socialist states and is a member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and Council for Mutual Economic Aid. A special kind of bond and alliance ties us to the Soviet Union. Only the strength of socialism on a world scale ensures the protection of our most vital interests. What other country, or which political considerations, could protect our interests better than the Soviet Union? But this is just the reverse side

of the same equation. The security and stability of Poland are closely tied to the interests of all our allies. At the same time, Poland's foreign policy is an integral part of East-West relations. We have to regard this policy in the totality of the

competition which continues uninterrupted between two sociopolitical systems. Not a single nation has succeeded in avoiding the class struggle of our epoch.

[Question] If this is true, and we speak of U.S. policy towards Poland, we are also speaking, therefore, of U.S. policy towards every socialist state, are we not?

[Answer] Yes, this is true. But we are not talking here of the policy of only a single country. The United States exerts usually brutal influence over the governments of other NATO countries. It is more or less the joint, coordinated policy of the entire capitalist West directed against Poland in particular, but indirectly against all our allies as well. The economic sanctions applied against us are dramatic proof of this. I know hundreds of instances which demonstrated the United States' effective pressure on Western European states to restrict their economic cooperation with Poland, even when this move went contrary to the interests of the Western European bourgeoisie. There are two reasons for this. In the first place, the Americans attempted to make things as difficult as possible for Poland to return to any kind of domestic stability, inasmuch as Poland had to be recognized to be socialism's "weak link." Economics were part of this leverage. On the other hand, the United States wanted to sow its allies in NATO who was in charge. Currently, it is the U.S. administration which calls the shots.

[Question] In recent years, Poland has become the target of particularly aggressive moves on the part of the West generally, and the United States particularly. The state of relations between Poland and the United States is the worst it has ever been since 1919. At the same time, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have also taken a turn for the worse. This downturn in relations is being accompanied by an escalation in the arms race. Carrying the arms race into space is becoming more and more a possibility. There has been no progress in the arms reduction negotiations either. Why is this so?

[Answer] We have to analyze soberly and objectively the mechanisms which control the capitalist economy, particularly the U.S. economy. We must look at the decisive influence exerted by the interests of the military-industrial complex.

[Question] What really led to the breakdown of detente and the current tension in the East-West relations?

[Answer] I have already mentioned several causes. In the first place, a severe economic crisis began in 1973 in the highly developed capitalist countries. This situation was caused by the memorable oil crisis. Unemployment became an institution. In the countries of Western Europe, an average of 10 percent of the people are without work. No one is capable of solving this problem in the foreseeable future. Quite to the contrary, people are speaking about a constant increase in unemployment--even to the brink of social and political security--to 25 percent. Additionally, a depression would also mean a decline in the national revenues of the most developed

capitalist countries. Finally, the long postwar period of prosperity which strengthened in many capitalist countries the belief in the progressive possibilities of this system has reached its end. This had to be dealt with severely and effectively.

[Question] Why should we connect the West's economic problems to the increase in international tension?

[Answer] They both have a great deal in common. This is particularly evident with regard to the United States. It is, however, also a complex issue. Let us begin with its prehistory. During the Second World War, the U.S. Government allocated millions and millions of interest-free credits to the development of the armaments industry. After only a few years, a powerful military-industrial complex emerged, mainly in the western states like Nevada and California. When World War II ended, requirements for armaments production were greatly reduced. Under capitalism, this has at least two kinds of consequences. First of all, the profits of many corporations, associated with the armaments industry, decline. In the second place, production capacity is not utilized.

[Question] It is possible, however, to shift over to peacetime production. Instead of tanks, machine tools and tractors can be produced.

[Answer] Of course, it is possible. But why do it? When did any group of capitalists ever complain about profits because someone's ideals got in the way? We have the American Boeing Company. I submit that almost 90 percent of the service aircraft used in the West is manufactured by Boeing. I could even say that the firm is doing quite well thanks to this production. In the meantime, profits from the production of passenger aircraft account for barely 6 percent of all the firm's profits. The remaining 94 percent of the profits comes from military production. The point here, unfortunately, is that this is not true for rather large corporations like General Motors.

[Question] Does this mean that the United States cannot progress economically unless it produces armaments? Armaments do drive an economy. It is clear that armaments production activates an economy after a period of depression, but is this still true today.

[Answer] This truth is confirmed by the facts. Let us take a look at these facts. After the end of the Second World War, a severe recession occurred in the United States. The armaments industry, running full steam up until then, slowed down considerably. Unemployment increased dramatically. What was the remedy for this ailment? The Korean War. Immediately, government orders for weapons increased. New workplaces appeared. In 1955, another recession occurs, and, again, the same remedy is applied: Vietnam. In 1973, we have the fuel crisis, to which I have already referred. The crisis shook the capitalist world particularly hard. Another recession takes place. How do they deal with it? Again, it is the same old, tried and true remedy: intensive armaments.

[Question] Reaching again and again for the military remedy is all the more easy, inasmuch as people in the United States see their influence in the world growing smaller and smaller.

[Answer] Yes, It is definitely for this reason that the Americans attempted to put a "strong man" into the White House. The Reagan election campaign was actually conducted with slogans calling for a return of power and magnificence; he called for a renewed belief in the country's possibilities. This kind of psychology cannot be disregarded; even today, such a mindset plays a great role. More importantly, however, were economic considerations. Because of its ties to the armaments industry, the group of capitalists, located in the U.S. south and west, has ceased worrying about its future and interests. Reagan, the group's faithful representative, has set an armaments machine in motion which the world has never seen before. This year's U.S. defense budget is close to the 300 billion dollar mark, i.e., three-fold-more, after inflation, than it was at the high point of the Vietnam War when the United States has a 500,000-man expeditionary force in Indo-China. The size of this budget is totally unimaginable, a record in the entire history of armaments. But even this is not the last word. It is easy to calculate that if the U.S. military budget continues to increase at its current rate of growth, it will reach 1 trillion dollars by the year 2000. The present administration has also sought after political justification for the unprecedented growth in its armaments program. First, we were given the thesis, supported immediately by specialists, of the alleged superiority of the Soviet Union in missile forces. The most repeated thesis, however, which we continually hear is: either we take advantage of this final chance to take care of the "reds," or we will never have the chance again. This last chance was supposed to be provided by the "technology gap" which made the United States superior to the Soviet Union. Intensive armament, especially the qualitative type, is supposed to increase this gap. At least three generations of world bourgeoisie deceived themselves with this very same myth and all ended up the same way: in failure. We can even be elegant and use a name like Napoleon here, but he ended up the same way. Despite all of this, however, this threadbare theory has been picked up gladly by the Reagan Administration.

[Question] The administration also believes that it can win arms race and break up the socialist states. It is here that we turn again to Polish affairs and to the special role which our country is supposed to play in the Eastern policy of the United States.

[Answer] We can go back to my earlier assertion that our Polish affairs need to be understood primarily in the context of East-West relations and in the context of the great, historic class struggle of our time. Actually, the United States bet heavily on the Polish card in its contest with socialism. The Americans believed that the time was right in August 1980 when they took advantage of the protest movement here. However, Washington suffered a stinging defeat in Poland. It was a political and intelligence failure for the United States, perhaps the worst in several decades. Remember this verse: "Barely into the barnyard, he encountered the bull..." It was clearly evident here that the Poles had smartened up. They discovered that they had a party,

which met the enemy aggressively and head-on; an army, which was able to stand tall in a moment of national danger, and a working class, which would not let itself be fooled by provocation. This makes it clear to everyone why the current U.S. policy towards Poland is so hostile.

[Question] I cannot help but use this opportunity to ask the premier's adviser and head of the Research Department for a political prognosis.

[Answer] I do not think that we will see any kind of change in U.S. policy towards Poland as long as Reagan remains in office. In my opinion, at least, there will also be no progress in arms control. The gigantic orders submitted already by the U.S. Government will take many years to fill. No one in the United States will voluntarily give up these contracts or all that money. We will see what is in the future.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview, Comrade Major.

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POLAND

PRE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN COVERAGE

'Citizen's Consultative Meetings' Needed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Aug-1 Sep pp 1,2

[Unattributed article: "Citizen's Consultative Meetings: Discussions About Fundamentals"]

[Text] (Own information) Discussion about Poland always give rise to further discussion about the fundamental things that help our country and those that do not. The same is also true in discussions between candidates for Sejm deputy and their voters during citizen's consultative meetings preceding the Sejm elections.

There are different points of view on what makes a good citizen. It can be seen from the point of view of the state, one's own place of work or home or a certain social function. There is still another specific one and that is the point of view of a Sejm deputy's mandate.

The national list's designated Sejm candidates for the 9th Sejm have been participating in the latest round of voter consultative meetings. PZPR Central Committee Politburo Member and Vice-Premier Zbigniew Messner and Minister of Health and Social Welfare Tadeusz Szelachowski took part in one such meeting in Piekary Slaskie. Present at a consultative meeting in the village of Grodek, Bialystok province, was Zbigniew Zielinski, chairman of the Provisional Administration of the Polish Catholic Social Union. Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the All-Polish Trade Union [OPZZ] participated in a consultative meeting in Krakow while the actor Wojciech Siemion took part in a gathering in Bilgoraj. Edmund Meclewski visited with voters from Mragowo while Robert Satanowski, director of the Grand Theater in Warsaw, met with farmers in Plock province.

Warsaw-Ochota: Need for Dialogue

A consultative meeting with Sejm candidates from electoral district 2 in Warsaw at the Ikar club in the Institute of Aviation lasted nearly 5 hours.

This is the best proof of the needs for this form of citizen's discussions. Lively and in places heated discussion was frequently interrupted by applause for the presented opinions.

Following the first part of the meeting which was dedicated to presentation of the PRON Electoral Declaration and introduction of candidates, there began a discussion in which it was difficult for participants to keep their remarks limited to their few allotted moments. The auditorium repeatedly called out for longer speeches.

Piotr Gronau said that the postulates presented to candidates during the campaign are not new ones but were formulated years ago. Therefore, less attention should be devoted to repetition of these postulates and more given to realizing them in practice. He also pointed out the unregulated system of wages and unequal access to social benefits and welfare.

Several other speakers spoke out on the subject of the national candidate list. Speaking with great respect for meritorious activists, M. Baszkiewicz was doubtful whether the advanced age of some would allow them to efficiently serve their constituents.

Zbigniew Nestorowicz caused a real storm. Asking the candidates what they felt about the prospects for housing construction, he presented an example in which valuable public initiatives were torpedoed.

Henryk Swiderski elaborated on this subject. "Two years ago," he said, "50 work establishments in Warsaw established a public association for the construction of homes. Nearly 8000 persons were involved in this enterprise. All of the formalities were carried out and permission was attained to locate a housing development in Strzeniowka but the decision was suddenly called off and we were left 'on ice'".

Zofia Odechowska, chairperson of the Warsaw PRON Council's environmental protection commission, responded to this complaint. She stated that the planned housing project in Strzeniowka would have gone against the city's territorial management plans and also endanger the natural environment.

Someone in the auditorium loudly interrupted this discussion, saying that a local problem of this sort should be settled by the appropriate authorities. The subject was changed but the problem of Strzeniowka still reappeared.

Henryk Usakowski was heard with great interest. "The 9th Sejm," he said, "should above all else work consistently to realize the laws that have already been passed up to now". He also said that the rapid passing of a respectable number of acts to regulate economic life hinders their practical assimilation in businesses.

Voters' speeches were interrupted by a proposal to let the candidates speak.

Jerzy Bielecki said that, considering the activity of voters at consultative meetings, the new Sejm deputies will certainly be closer to their constituents. "the Sejm," he said, "should consider the problems of social

strategy. I consider these to be the problems of general youth education and environmental protection. Too little has been done up to now". Responding to questions from one of the voters, he said that we must oppose excessive growth in the administration at all levels, especially where bureaucracy hinders the functioning of social life and often makes it impossible to encourage civil initiatives.

Stanislaw Peczynski, chairman of the independent autonomous trade union of employees of the State Bureau for Publishing and Circulation of Publications would like for the Sejm to cooperate with their colleagues in the unions to work out a new labor code, establish a social minimum and prepare a cohesive program for more housing construction.

"Success in solving all of our country's problems," said Ryszard Lukasiewicz "is closely connected with strengthening democracy and broadening the field of agreement".

During the discussion, several candidates left the podium to speak with the larger group of voters.

The meeting, which lasted several hours, ended with an expression of support for all of the proposed candidates.

Ostroleka: Equal Chances for Young People

How are we to work out an understanding in Poland, unite the interests of individuals and communities to overriding social interests, give young people good civil attitudes, improve the situation of Polish women and families, better the cultural life of rural inhabitants and view the good of the nation and of all Poles through the prism of the justifiable needs of our rural areas? These were the main threads of discussion during a long citizen's consultative meeting in which there participated about 400 inhabitants of villages near Ostroleka. They met with six candidates for Sejm deputy from district 48 in Ostroleka and the national list candidate Jadwiga Biedrzycka, chairperson of the Main Administration of the League of Polish Women.

Supporting the candidacy of the future deputies, the participants in the discussion stressed that those who think and feel like Poles will go to vote together. "Years ago, we fought for one Poland," said Jan Pedzich, a gray-headed farmer from "and there should not be any divisions among us today. We should live like one family because it is only such a Poland that can mean anything to us and the world". He used the occasion to call on the future deputies to remember the need to meet and keep a close tie with the voters after elections.

Marian Grzymala, a retired railway worker, presented a series of his concerns to the Sejm candidates and expressed his hope that they not escape their attention. He talked about the problems of drunkenness and drug addiction, a better supply of production materials to rural areas and improvement of the conditions of school youth.

The future of national education, which was addressed in the PRON Elections Declaration, is, in the opinion of Alfred Quardelli, a psychologist from Ostroleka, a particularly important topic for the 9th Sejm. He said that education gives us a chance to restore such recently-lost social values as self-control, more activity and better respect for work, the state and society in which one lives.

An appeal was made by Rafal Dymerski, chairman of the Ostroleka Provincial Union of Rural Youth, Elzbieta Majkowska, a teacher from Rzekun, and Apolonia Belkiewicz of Goworowo for equal chances for young people to start their lives and grow and for rural youth to "get ahead". The inhabitants of the Ostroleka region not only postulate, but when they must, they can roll up their sleeves and work for the good of all: the value of public work performed in the first half of this year in the village of Lelis exceeded four million zlotys and in the communities of Czerwin, Olszewo-Borki and Rzekun, more than three million zlotys worth of work has been done.

"We are discussing here problems of a basic nature but also local problems, great and small," said a farmer from the village of Zabino, Goworowo community. "Every Pole and all people of good will should sign the PRON Elections Declaration. Before the elections, let us think about what we have in common. This is our place on earth and therefore what is most important of all is the good of our republic and our own concept of how we run our world".

The national list candidate Jadwiga Biedrzycka responded to citizens' statements, saying: "The role of a deputy is to work for the interests of all and those of society, the state and the different communities. We must search for the solutions that satisfy everyone. Therefore, it is indispensable to maintain real contact with voters whether they offer compliments and tell us the naked truth".

Replying to questions, J. Biedrzycka said: "If I am elected, then as a woman and mother, I will try to remember when I am voting on important issues to see the results of these decisions of a micro-scale, that is, how they affect homes, families and individuals. If I become a deputy, I will involve myself with the problems of families and in a broader sense, the state's social policy. It is most important that the state's social policy be tied in with the economy, that the so-called great policies not lose sight of the small problems of life or a sense of justice. They must lead to greater unity among Poles.

Candidate Summarizes Discussions

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Sep 85 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Wojna: "From a Candidate's Notebook: Realistic Postulates Dominate"]

[Text] As a "candidate for candidate as deputy" I have already been through 13 meetings and spent a total of 60 hours with voters from district 1 (Warsaw: Srodmiescie,

Mokotow, Piaseczno, Gora Kalwaria and the surrounding villages). This has really given me much to think about!

Here are a few observations and reflections.

Frequency. The enormous majority of the auditoriums prepared for these meetings turned out to be too small even though they were fitted to seat 200-300 persons. Often, the unexpected participants overflowed into the corridors where they listened over an intercom.

The organizers of a meeting at the headquarters of Metalexport met the most criticism for the small size of the auditorium. The facilities could hold 300 persons but three times that number showed up and could not be seated. One of those present, an elderly gentleman who looked like a veteran, commented in his speech: "In January 1947, I went many kilometers into the Bieszczady mountains with my platoon to fight the Ukrainian nationalist bands so that 10 Poles in some remote hamlet could vote. Today I see that people don't care to vote since so many went to the meeting and a larger meeting room could not be found anywhere nearby. The level of interest in these meetings has been underestimated".

The organizers of subsequent meetings took these words to heart. Rows of chairs appeared in the intercom-connected halls.

Organization. The technical organizers of the meetings were the local PRON committees. It was the same groups that provided chairmen for the meetings. For the most part, the chairmen conducted the meetings with great finesse, tact and when necessary, firmness, especially when the exchange of views and opinions between voters and candidates became drawn out. The shortest meeting lasted four hours while the longest went on for 6 hours and 15 minutes even though speeches were limited to 5 minutes apiece.

All of the auditoriums were festively decorated. The state emblem always hung behind the podium and this emphasized the fact that the meetings were of national importance and a part of the elections process. At all of the meetings, hard working stenographers sat next to podium.

In arranging to use the auditoriums, the organizers were helped by work establishments and party organizations and most of all by the owners of the facilities. In sum, this was a display of great technical and organizational efficiency on a scale never before seen. In my own memory, I can only compare it to the campaign for the 1946 referendum.

Climate. The predominant mood at the meetings was little different from the frame of mind in which society reviews its everyday affairs, that is, people talked about what annoyed, bothered or angered them. However, they did not debate their problems but spoke of them very seriously with a feeling of great responsibility for what they were saying. If there were entirely sporadic departures from this unwritten rule or lapses into demagoguery or open opposition, as a rule the audience immediately called for a climate more conducive to dialogue.

There was also much bitterness and helplessness expressed in many speeches. We attentively listened to all complaints and made many notes. All of the points touched upon during the discussions will be communicated to the provincial deputy teams during the coming Sejm and will also become the point of departure for those of us that are elected.

Problems. I have not analyzed the subjects discussed with abacus in hand but I can say that there were many complaints against the regional governments. People simply want better organization of our daily life. I would also say that a considerable part of our problems in this area could be resolved without at no special cost if there existed the good will to contribute their resolution.

For the voters, the most important problem that cannot be dealt with locally is the functioning of the health care services and housing construction. I can still hear the appeal of a doctor from Mokotow for help in acquiring chlorine to wash hospital sinks (as far as I know, there is enough chlorine in Poland but it cannot be packaged fast enough). Nevertheless, frightening appeals were made to the candidates at the Capital Rehabilitation Center in Konstancin. This year, there are 200 candidates but even though the council would like to accept all of them, there is room for only 60.

To this must be added a landslide of complaints at the lack of many medicines.

However, we dedicated the most discussion time to the subject of housing construction and management and the property relations in this area. This entire enormous area of unusually serious and painful problems requires, in my opinion, a systematic approach, that is, the sort of approach that would make them one of the most important concerns of the government, to which sector and local interests and egotism would be subordinated and would create the legal organizational and material framework for the greatest possible public initiative. The initiatives of Professor Ciborowski had this goal in mind. The candidates were asked repeatedly why these initiatives have been rejected by the present mechanisms that are responsible for construction in Poland.

Some of the repeating themes of discussion were the nation's ability to feed itself, the problems of small business and industries, the hard start in life faced by the young generation (especially after higher studies), the lack of proper attention given the problems of the handicapped, the low level of pensions and retirement pay, the great delay in ministerial issuance of executive regulations to the latest laws (executive decrees on "water circles" have already been around for three years...), social pathologies and other important questions.

All of these problems were intertwined with those of economic reform (everyone already supports the reform although many lament its inconsistent realization) and youth education. This last problem was discussed very deeply and thoroughly, starting with the shortage of schools, questions concerning teacher cadres, concepts of patriotism, rebuilding a work ethic among young people and on through the great educational role of sports in general and mass sports in particular. The editor in chief of television sports broadcasting, W. Krajewski, led these discussions without rest.

I cannot forget a bitter remark that I heard in the Polcolor auditorium in Piaseczno: "For 40 years we have had the same problems and it is our own fault. We really should ask why we must develop technology when we cannot use it. We must start with building the right kind of people..."

In this context we frequently heard the philosophical ideas that candidates from the "Pax" publishing institute expressed in obviously anticlerical tones. We were also asked several times whether it might not be better to turn over some of the construction materials, resources and human effort that go into the construction of churches to the building of schools (At Ursynowo we met in a 3-class school. We heard it said there that Warsaw is the only European capital that is still having 3-class schools built at the end of the 20th century).

Still another topic. One of the candidates was Szymon Szurmiej, director of the State Jewish Theater and chairman of the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Poland. He was asked what he felt about the increasing slander in the West that Poland is supposed to be a nation of antisemites.

In heated and sometimes even flaming words heard through with silent ardor, Szymon Szurmiej not only spoke out against these completely false ideas (in the Hebrew language, Poland is "Po lim" which means "here you will rest") but also presented it as part of the inventory of imperialistic acts aimed at harming our country by various means.

Meanwhile, with regard to my own professional specialization, international affairs and Poland's foreign policy, there were relatively few questions. Internal affairs were decidedly not the dominant theme.

Conclusions. One of the voters stated that the elections campaign is one great and wisely devised "safety valve" giving vent to dissatisfaction over numerous shortcomings.

I think that the campaign is something much greater than a safety valve. It has driven home to all alike, both the voters and candidates, the enormity and complexity of problems that we must work on and resolve and also the fundamental importance that a sense of national understanding has for improving the quality of our everyday lives.

In these discussions, the leading role was frequently taken by activists of the lowest echelons of people's councils and regional government. This is a cause for optimism. Self-government in its new and far from satisfactory new communal form is undergoing a process of dynamic change. I think that the positive results of this change will be felt in a few years.

As a candidate for candidate who is campaigning not for the first time, allow me to speak a few words about my fellow candidates from district 1. They are magnificent and wise people. During this campaign, there has emerged a serious group of activists on a state-wide scale. They are the great shared capital of the entire nation. We cannot afford overlook any of them that may not perhaps find places in the final candidate lists.

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] On 6 September, a meeting of the State Electoral Commission was held under the leadership of Adam Zielinski. Information was presented by the chairmen of various electoral districts: Jozef Franciszkowicz of district 41 in Lomza, Ireneusz Olszta of district 45 in Olsztyn, Wojciech Smoczyk of district 54 in Poznan and Ryszard Lopszanski of district 70 in Wroclaw.

The information covered preparations for districts in these districts and especially matters concerning the creation of district electoral commissions and the training of their members as well as the preparation of voter lists that will be submitted on 15 September for public examination. The State Electoral Commission stated that this work is being carried out in accordance with the provisions of electoral law and that the deadlines set by the electoral calendar will be met.

Furthermore, the commission examined information prepared by its own inspectorate on the course of pre-elections work throughout Poland.

PZPR Provincial Committees Meet

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Sep 85 pp 1,2

[Text] The provincial PZPR Committees of 29 provinces held plenary meetings this Friday. In accordance with the resolution of the 21st PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the tasks of the party in the Sejm elections campaign were discussed at nearly all of these meetings.

In many cases, election matters were combined with discussion of other important problems of the nation and individual regions.

The plenary meetings were held in the provinces of Biala Podlaska, Chelm, Ciechanow, Czestochowa, Elblag, Gorzow, Jelenia Gora, Katowice, Koszalin, Krakow, Krosno, Legnica, Leszno, Lodz, Pila, Piotrkow Trybunalski, Poznan, Radom, Rzeszow, Skierniewice, Slupsk, Suwalki, Szczecin, Tarnobrzeg, Torun, Walbrzych, Warsaw, Zamosc and Zielona Gora.

During the plenary meetings, recommendations were given for candidates PZPR Sejm candidates and support was given nonpartisan candidates. In connection with this, it must be added that according to the electoral ordinance, the final decision on the candidate lists in individual electoral districts comes from the provincial electoral conventions.

At the plenum of the Warsaw Provincial PZPR Committee which was led by Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the provincial committee, Marian Wozniak and at which Politburo member Albin Siwak was present, it was noted that 90 citizen's consultative meetings had been held in the capital and this great frequency of meetings was noteworthy. Specifying the tasks of party organizations and instances, for the next stage of the elections

campaign the Warsaw Provincial PZPR Committee recommended issuance of a list of matters needing the attention of the coming meetings.

Environmental protection, housing construction, restoration of historical buildings and the quality of work and production were the most frequently discussed topics of pre-elections debate in the city of Krakow. At the plenary meeting of the Krakow Municipal PZPR Committee at which Politburo member Hieronim Kubiak and Secretary General of the Krakow PRON Council Jerzy Jaskiernia were present, the very high frequency, ardor and earnestness of the citizen's discussions were pointed out.

The Chelm Provincial PZPR Committee addressed an appeal to all of the province's citizens to take an active part in elections, support and personally participate in work to realize the PRON Elections Declaration.

In Katowice Province, there have by this time been held about 120 citizen's consultative meetings. More than 1500 persons took part in these meetings. At the plenary meeting of the Katowice Provincial PZPR Committee with Jerzy Romanik, Politburo member and miner, emphasis was given the fact that the conclusions from these meetings have provided a great number of ideas for streamlining party work. Similar statements were made by participants to the plenary meeting of the Rzeszow Provincial PZPR Committee at which much attention was given to the broad range of problems discussed at meetings. These problems have often gone beyond the range of community or regional affairs. At the plenum held by the Walbrzych Provincial PZPR Committee and others, there were specified the tasks that the party must perform during the elections campaign so that no initiative and no important citizen's voice not go unheeded.

In the evaluations voiced at the plenum of the Biala Podlaska Provincial PZPR Committee, it was stressed that citizen's consultative meetings have become an important element of a national understanding. Similar opinions were expressed at the Legnica province's party plenum.

In Ciechanow, the present state of health care and public welfare was assessed and there were established directions for action in these areas as outlined by the resolution of the 19th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. Vice-Premier Zenon Komender participated in this meeting.

The plenary meeting of the Czestochowa Provincial PZPR Committee assessed the influence that the party has had on strengthening self-government in that province.

It was stated at the plenum of the Elblag Provincial PZPR Committee that the consolidation of the party ranks, strengthening of the reborn union movement and economic results are the best illustration of the gradual stabilization of social, political and economic life in that province.

Meanwhile, the Gorzow Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the role of the technical and economic intelligentsia in the realization of economic reform and production tasks.

Plenary sessions of the Jelenia Gora Provincial PZPR Committee were devoted to the realization of tasks in industry, housing construction and agriculture.

The tasks of party instances and organizations in social, political and economic activation of rural communities were the subject of the plenum held by the Koszalin Provincial PZPR Committee at which the opinion was expressed that the party is gaining the trust of farmers.

At the plenary meeting of the Krosno Provincial PZPR Committee with Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk involved itself with a particularly portative problem -- the letters, complaints and recommendations sent to party instances and organizations.

Other important problems such as the tasks outlined by the Central Committee 9th Plenum's resolution on youth affairs were discussed by the plenary meeting of the Leszno Provincial PZPR Committee with Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon. It was recognized that ideological and educational work among youth continues to be one of the most important duties of the party.

The plenary meeting of the Lodz Provincial PZPR Committee conducted an analysis of the state of public safety in that province. The meeting was led by First Secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee Tadeusz Czechowicz and Prosecutor General Jozef Zyto was present.

Before the start of public consultations, the plenum held by the Pila Provincial PZPR Committee discussed different principles for the provincial social and economic plan for 1986-1990. In Piotrkow Trybunalski, the provincial PZPR committee discussed the realization of the resolution of the 13th Central Committee Plenum on the main premises of its cadre policy and the resulting tasks to be carried out by the provincial party organization. Brig Gen Wladyslaw Honkisz, director of the Central Committee Department of Cadre Policy, attended this meeting.

The plenary meeting of the Poznan Provincial PZPR Committee with Politburo member Stanislaw Kalkus assessed the party's reaction to letters, complaints and signals from the population that have repeatedly been associated with problems brought up at citizen's consultative meetings. A similar topic was discussed at the Radom Provincial PZPR Committee's plenary meeting with Politburo member Zofia Grzyb at which the social and political situation in that region was discussed.

The ideological achievement of the provincial party organization was emphasized during a meeting of the Skierniewice Provincial PZPR Committee. Vice-Marshall of Sejm Zbigniew Gertych was present.

The tasks of the provincial party organization in the realization of the resolution of the 20th Central Committee Plenum on increasing the efficiency of the party's political and organizational activities were the subject of meetings held by the Slupsk Provincial PZPR Committee.

A plenary meeting of the Suwalki Provincial PZPR Committee dedicated to party work among the intelligentsia stated that the problems facing that class cannot be regarded as unconnected to those of the workers and peasants.

The Szczecin Provincial PZPR Committee discussed more efficient realization of the resolution of the 9th Central Committee Plenum on letters and complaints sent to the party.

At a plenary meeting of the Tarnobrzeg Provincial PZPR Committee which was attended by Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski, a concept was developed for planning the social and economic development of that province during the coming 5 years.

As a plenary meeting of the Torun Provincial PZPR Committee devoted to party activity within the people's councils concluded, party instances and organizations must now, more than ever, be the initiators of actions undertaken by the governments of towns and villages.

At the plenary meeting of the provincial PZPR committee in Zamosc, a resolutions adopted which outlined directions and methods for strengthening public and industrial discipline. The committee stated that party members have a special responsibility to bring this about.

The main topics of the Zielona Gora Provincial PZPR Committee were, aside from the upcoming elections, construction problems and that industry's contribution to realization of the region's social and economic tasks.

PRON Executive Committee Meets

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Sep 85 pp 1-2

[Text] On 6 September, the presidium of the PRON National Council's Executive Committee held a meeting. There was discussed at this meeting the state of preparations for the Sejm elections with reference to the experiences gained from citizen's consultative meetings.

The presidium familiarized itself with the letter by the PRON national Council's Sejm candidate Barbara Enholc-Narzynska which read as follows: "I regard the PRON National Council's sponsorship of my candidacy on the national list a high honor and distinction for the Polish Ecumenical Council in People's Poland. This is an event without precedence in the history of our parliament which the Polish Ecumenical Council very highly values. This proves that the national list was created to unite all Poles with their diverse religious and philosophical views. However, because of the poor state of my health, I am forced to announce that I cannot accept this great distinction. At the same time, I wish to say that, as much as my health allows me, I will participate in the work of the State Electoral Commission and in other PRON activities which I feel are an important means of forming a sense of agreement and unity among our people".

In connection with the resignation of Barbara Enholc-Narzynska, the presidium of the PRON National Council's Executive Committee has decided to ask to the All-Polish Electoral Convention to remove her candidacy from the national list and, in accordance with the authority given it by the National Council, decided to announce to the All-Polish Electoral Convention the candidacy of the nonpartisan Aleksander Legatowicz, 62, economist, Lodz University scholar and Catholic activist who up to now has been campaigning as a candidate for deputy in Warsaw electoral district 3.

Furthermore, the presidium also decided to announce to the All-Polish Electoral Convention the candidacy of the following persons as confidants to the State Electoral Commission: Katarzyna Gaertner, composer and member of the PRON National Council's Executive Committee, Henryk Groszyk, professor in the Department of Law and Administration at Maria Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin and Stanislaw Piotrowski, a lathe operator in the M. Nowotko Machine Works and a member of the Executive Committee.

Change in National List, Candidate Resigns

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] The All-Polish Electoral Convention met on 7 September under the leadership of Jan Dobraczynski. The convention examined a statement made by the presidium of the PRON National Council's Executive Committee on changes to the national list of candidates due to the resignation of Barbara Enholc-Narzynska for reasons of poor health.

The All-Polish Electoral Convention reviewed the PRON National Council's application for a new national list candidate, Aleksander Legatowicz. The convention decided to remove B. Enholc-Narzynska from the 5 June national list of Sejm candidates and accepted the new candidate, Aleksander Legatowicz, motioning to include his name in the national list presented for voter consultation.

Aleksander Legatowicz is a Catholic activist, docent, doctor of economic sciences, doctor of mathematical and physical sciences, academic instructor and director of the Foreign Trade Economics Department at Lodz University. He is the author of various works on economics and theoretical physics and was born in 1923.

Since A. Legatowicz was proposed by the Warsaw Provincial Electoral Convention in the list of candidates for district 3, that convention removed withdrew his candidacy from that list on the recommendation of the All-Polish Electoral Convention.

Provincial Boards Check Candidates

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Sep 85 pp 1,2

[Text] (Own information) In accordance with the provisions of the electoral ordinance and the elections calendar, on Monday, 9 September, the provincial electoral conventions met to consider evaluations and opinions submitted

during citizen's consultative meetings and to closely analyze Sejm candidates. At about 2000 meetings, the electoral conventions throughout the country presented about 1700 persons to the voters. On the other hand, the district electoral lists may contain about 820 names since they cover a total of 410 seats.

A meeting was held by the Warsaw Electoral Convention which selected 54 candidates from out of 100 persons initially included in the provisional list of candidates. Warsaw and the capital province is represented by 27 seats in 5 electoral districts.

As our Katowice correspondent, Marian Twarog, has informed us, on 9 September, the Katowice Provincial Electoral Convention submitted the names of 8 Sejm candidates for registration by the district electoral commissions. On the lists of these districts (21 to 28), there were 86 candidates, two for each deputy seat. These nominations were made after analysis of the organization's suggestions and voters' opinions received in the course of citizen's consultative meetings in which nearly 32,000 persons participated.

The chairman of the provincial electoral convention, Marian Rauszer, said that "due to the wealth of names, we have the unusually hard task of choosing 86 out of the 100 candidates that we presented in the course of 124 citizen's meetings. This has been made all the more difficult as no one has made any accusations that would disqualify any of these nominees for running according to article 1 of the Electoral Ordinance. Aside from the opinions expressed at these meetings, we also considered the need for proper representation of this region in the Sejm with regard to the professional composition of its population including the considerable number of workers and scholars, youth and women and the territorial arrangement of the province.

Recognition was given at special meetings to all of the candidates who were not finally included on elections lists and more work was proposed to organize the elections campaign.

Very soon, there will begin the second course of meetings during which individual candidates will meet with voters. In Katowice province, more than a thousand of these meetings will be held among different professional and social communities, in work establishments and in villages. Meanwhile, all of the recommendations, observations and postulates voiced during these meetings will be gathered, grouped and reflected in the electoral appeal of the provincial PRON council.

Electoral conventions have also been meeting in Tarnobrzeg, Rzeszow, Wroclaw, Lomza and Piotrkow Trybunalski.

Pre-Election Advisory Meetings

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Sep 85 p 2

[Article by jz: "Journalists Ask: What Do You Think About That?: Analysis of the Conclusions of Pre-Elections Meetings]

[Text] Much criticism of the functioning of numerous areas of our life has been found in the great public debate over the state of government, society and the nation. Such debate has taken place within the citizen's consultative meetings between Sejm candidates and voters. In the protocols from these meetings conducted by different PRON councils and organizations, one finds a list of hundreds of citizen's complaints to certain bureaus, various levels of the state administration and ministries. Many of them never would have been "matters for resolution" if enough had been done on time to deal with people's complaints and moods or someone had hastened to address the doubts. After the citizen's consultative meetings, PAP [Polish Press Agency] journalists looked into the signalled problems, asking one question of: what do you think of this? Here are the answers.

Zbigniew Wojcik, director of the Health Department, City of Krakow: "It is hard to be surprised at the fact that the state of the health care services in Krakow has aroused so many emotions at meetings. For decades now, the Krakow municipal province really has not been spoiled by too-good health care. We lack 4000 needed hospital beds and are ranked 27th in all of Poland for hospital bed space".

Is this the state of affairs today or for the future? Krakow is the only city in Poland in which the construction of two large hospitals is being undertaken at the same time in Nowa Huta and in the neighborhood of Podgorze. The Nowa Huta hospital will have 900 beds (after the construction in the second phase of the psychiatric and pediatric departments his number will go up to 1100) while the Podgorze hospital will have 650. The former will be opened in 1988 and the latter in 7-8 years. Work has already been started to design an excellent new clinical facility at the Medical Academy in Krakow-Prokocim. These are gigantic investments. At the same time we are trying to somehow alleviate the situation by the "economic" method which of adapting many existing hospitals. We can therefore expect some fundamental improvement in the coming years. (Polish Press Agency)

(Own information) (C.). Roman Tunikowski, secretary of the Wroclaw Provincial PRON Council characterized and discussed 700 recommendations that his organization has received during the course of a series of citizen's consultative meetings. These local recommendations concerned many of the problems for which society is demanding solutions such as more efficient functioning of commercial firms and establishments serving the population. Many recommendations concerned the health services. Citizens pointed out a shortage of medical specialists, especially in smaller communities, poor local health services and above all poor pharmaceutical supplies and a lack of medical equipment for hospitals.

There have also been some recommendations of a super-regional character and these were for the most part addressed to the coming Sejm. The voters suggested that the new Sejm should give more attention to its control functions. This concerns not only the realization of numerous resolutions and laws but also observance of the rule of law and the continuing growth of democracy in the functioning of the government. The recommendations also considered the problem of efficiently overcoming social plagues such as alcoholism and drug addiction among youth. There should be no let-up in the

fight against these problems. Young voters have demanded that more be done to give their generation a better start in their lives and professions.

"All of these recommendations have of course been compiled according to the problem areas that they refer to," said Secretary Tunikowski, "and have been received by the respective departments of the provincial, city and community governments. In addition, the Sejm candidates will, during the second half of the campaign, will discuss these problems in detail during their meetings with voters. Representatives of the state administration will also take part in the meetings.

Recommendations of general national interest will be forwarded to the PRON National Council.

(Own information) (C). "The recommendations received in our province are very specific," said Janusz Pyrtko, secretary of the Legnica Provincial PRON Council. "We have compiled them thematically and according to whom they are addressed. In view of their great importance, some of them have been forwarded to the government, Council of State, the PRON National Council or other central institutions.

The Legnica Provincial PRON Council has furthermore decided that part of the conclusions that it has received concerning local affairs will be forwarded to the provincial governor and certain departments of the provincial government. The PRON provincial council will see that they are implemented. Furthermore, all of the recommendations will still be gathered and appropriately handled. They will be presented not only to the Sejm candidates who will be taking part in the second half of the campaign but also to all of the advisors of the provincial people's council. None of the submitted recommendations will go unheeded.

Final Candidate List Prepared

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] For the third time during the Sejm elections campaign, public interest has become concentrated on the work of the electoral conventions.

The first time that the public showed such interest was at the start of the campaign when the conventions were accepting nominations for Sejm candidates from the political and public organizations authorized to do so. The second time that this occurred was when 1700 names out of several thousand were entered onto provisional lists to be presented for public consultation. And now, for the third time, interest has been renewed by the submission of the resulting voter-approved final candidate lists to the state electoral commissions. The national list contains 50 persons and the district lists include 820 candidates (two per mandate).

Let us recall that the electoral conventions are a new institution in the Sejm Electoral Ordinance and that they play a key role in the democratic formation of elections lists. These are public organs that have not been established by

any institution but were created by the very access to them enjoyed by representatives of political and public organizations that have been given the right in the Electoral Ordinance to take part in the work of the conventions.

According to the Electoral Ordinance, the All-Polish Electoral Convention is three-fifths composed of representatives from the PRON National Council and the supreme authorities of the PZPR, ZSL, SD, PAX, the Christian Social Union [ChSS] and PZKS [expansion unknown] while the other two-fifths is made up of delegates from the government or the national agreements of trade unions, farmer's social and professional organizations, youth associations and women's and veteran's organizations. On the same principles, the provincial conventions were formed from the representatives of provincial-level organizations. These organizations are responsible for the territory of a single province regardless of how many electoral districts have been created within that province. There are therefore provincial conventions such as the Warsaw or Katowice conventions that have authority over several districts.

National List at Fore of Socialist Reform

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Sep 85 pp 1,2

[Text] On 11 September, the latest meeting of the All-Polish Electoral Convention was held and it familiarized itself with the course of nomination of Sejm candidates, the establishment of candidate lists and voter consultations.

In accordance with the regulations of Electoral Ordinance, the entire process of Sejm candidate nomination has been made public.

Using the powers that they have been conferred, the provincial PZPR, ZSL, SD, Christian Social Union, PZKS, PAX and PRON organizations as well as the provincial trade-union agreements and the provincial authorities of the farmers' social and professional organizations, socialist youth unions and women's and veteran's organizations and many other such organizations have chosen 2378 persons out of those proposed by their organizations and referred their names to the electoral conventions. Noteworthy is the democratic process by which the authorized organizations have chosen candidates as well as the fact that most of them have been nominated and approved by two or more organizations.

After extensive analysis of the candidate announcements of authorized organizations, the provincial conventions have compiled them into lists and presented the voters with 1677 candidates for 410 mandates, i.e. an average of four persons per district seat.

Among these candidates were found 974 PZPR members, 324 ZSL members, 100 SD members and 279 nonpartisan candidates which included 25 from PAX, 16 from the Christian Social Union and 11 from the PZKS. The social and professional composition of the candidates presented by the provincial conventions amounts to 391 blue-collar workers, 247 farmers, 17 skilled workers and craftsmen and 1022 mental workers and candidates from other professional and social groups. Among the consulted Sejm candidates were found 207 members of youth

organizations, 376 women and 353 employees of the largest industrial establishments.

The proposed candidates were presented to voters by the mass media and at 2261 consultative meetings in 74 electoral districts in which there participated nearly a million citizens representing all social and professional groups. In meetings organized by PRON with the assistance of the electoral conventions, there also participated both the candidates nominated in their electoral districts and those nominated in the national list. The All-Polish Electoral Convention underlined the great interest that voters had in these meetings. On the average there were about 200 voters present with as many as 500. These meetings were marked by a good political atmosphere and became an unusually meaningful forum for hours of citizen's debate over matters of the utmost national and local importance.

In lively, creative and critical discussion, the voters exhibited great concern for the successful development of the country, the proper social and political composition of the Sejm and its highly-efficient functioning. They also pointed out the necessity and possibility of resolving many of their regions' key problems. Numerous speeches underlined the great extent of consultations with the proposed candidates and the creation of the conditions for real citizen involvement in their nomination and selection. The citizen's meetings were used by voters to become more fully acquainted with their candidates and the candidates received many questions and postulates.

At the citizen's consultative meetings and in letters to the electoral conventions, citizens have formulated a series of valuable recommendations, proposals concerning the work of the 9th Sejm and means of realizing the work of a deputy's mandate as well as the legal and political criteria for selecting candidates and the principles used to establish electoral lists. All suggestions will be presented to the proper state authorities and organizations so that they may be thoroughly examined and properly implemented.

Considering the observations and opinions that voters offered about the proposed Sejm candidates, the provincial electoral conventions have formed districts lists that included 820 candidates from out of the 1677 nominated. These lists will be submitted to the district electoral commissions for registration no later than 13 September.

The All-Polish Electoral Convention also reviewed voter opinions and observations from citizen's consultative meetings and letters about the national list's Sejm candidates and on the basis of consultations concluded that the group of candidates proposed by the national list was generally approved by the voters. The convention included on the national list all of the candidates proposed by the PRON National Council and also stated that this list is representative of the present composition of political and social forces that form the basis for socialist renewal and therefore symbolizes the idea of national agreement. Among the national list candidates are representatives of the PZPR and allied party leadership, leading PRON activists, representatives of social organizations and associations and well-known individuals from the world of science, culture and art.

In accordance with article 62 of the Electoral Ordinance, the All-Polish Electoral Convention submitted the national list to the State Electoral Commission for registration along with the declarations of the candidates' consent for their candidacy.

Furthermore, the All-Polish Electoral Convention, at the recommendation of the presidium of the PRON National Council's Executive Committee, designated Katarzyna Gaertner, Henryk Groszyk and Stanislaw Piotrowski as the convention's confidants to the State Electoral Commission.

Election Clarification in Interview Format

Warsaw FAKTY I KOMENTARZE in Polish No 36, 8 Sep 85 pp 13-15

[Article by dr: "We Answer Questions"]

[Text] Can a member of an electoral convention or commission become a candidate for Sejm deputy?

Yes, perhaps. However, to ensure the impartiality of the electoral organs, the Sejm Electoral Ordinance requires that:

-- a member of an electoral convention whose name is included in a list of Sejm candidates to be presented to voters in individual electoral districts immediately resign his function within the convention. he will therefore not have any part in deciding which persons are included in the candidate list to be registered by the appropriate electoral commission;

-- a member of an electoral commission whose name is included in a list of candidates to be presented to voters may continue to serve his function. He must immediately resign from that function if his name is included in a registered electoral list. The reason for the later resignation in this case is that the electoral commissions do not have any influence on the composition of the lists of Sejm candidates presented to voters during the citizen's consultative meetings nor on the composition of the electoral lists registered by electoral commissions. This right is given the electoral commissions alone by the Sejm Electoral Ordinance.

When do the electoral conventions submit electoral lists to the commissions?

The all-Polish and provincial electoral conventions submit their electoral lists for registration by state and district commissions no later than the

30th day before election day (13 September 1985). Each electoral list must be stamped and signed by the members of the convention submitting it.

If we consider the fact the citizen's consultative meetings will end as of 5 September 1985, the provincial electoral commissions will have little time to decide which candidates to include in the lists to be presented to voters and which to drop. The elections lists have room for less than half of the candidates presented to voters (820 out of more than 1700 names). The Sejm

electoral ordinance clearly states that "only the persons to be presented to voters may be included on candidate lists".

After registering the electoral lists, the district electoral commissions inform voters through posters and announcements of the candidates offered no later than the 20th day before election day, that is, 23 September.

Why must the electoral conventions submit their lists for registration no later than 30 days before election day while the electoral commissions may publish the candidate data 10 days later?

The difference of 10 days gives time for eventual correction of the elections lists. For example, according to the Sejm Electoral Ordinance, if there are found to be errors in a list submitted by an electoral convention for registration, the electoral commission refuses to register that list and "immediately calls on the electoral convention to remove the indicated errors by a set date".

The Electoral Convention may decide that an electoral commission's ruling and a list is unjustified. It may then appeal to the State Electoral Commission. This appeal must be made within no more than two days from the refusal to register the list. The decision of the State Electoral Commission is final.

Can changes be made to an electoral list before elections are held?

Yes, they can, if the two following conditions are met:

-- the electoral convention may notify the proper electoral commission of changes in an already registered list no later than the 10th day before election day. It can therefore remove from the list one or more candidates and substitute another (or others);

-- the new list announcement must satisfy the conditions required for registration of an electoral list. Above all, the new candidates must be one of the persons presented to voters during citizen's consultative meetings as a candidate for Sejm deputy candidate.

The electoral commission is required to immediately notify voters of such changes.

Once a list has been registered, can a candidate be removed before elections?

Yes, this is possible. On the basis of article 66 of the Sejm electoral ordinance, an electoral convention has the right to appeal to the proper electoral commission within 10 days prior to election day to remove a candidate from an already registered list. On the recommendation of the electoral convention, the electoral commission removes the candidate's name from the list.

The electoral commissions also have the right to remove a candidate on its own initiative. It makes such a decision if the candidate dies, loses the right to run for elected office or retracts his consent to his candidacy. The

electoral commission immediately notifies the electoral convention of any decision made on its own initiative to remove a candidate from the list.

A new candidate cannot take the vacated place on the list. Meanwhile, the electoral commission must immediately notify voters of any change in a registered electoral list.

Who has the right and who does not have the right to participate in Sejm elections?

Every Polish citizen of at least 18 years of age has this right and this is in accordance with the principle of universal suffrage.

On the other hand, the following persons do not have the right to take part in an election:

- persons of at least the age of 18 whose citizenship in Poland or any other country has not been determined in other words, stateless persons. In contrast to the 1976 Sejm Electoral Ordinance which gave this right to stateless persons, this is a significant change;

- in accordance with article 10, paragraph 2 of the Civil Code, persons who have come of age through a court-sanctioned marriage despite the fact that they have still not reached the age of 18. The Sejm electoral ordinance states that the right to vote is granted once a person reaches the age of 18 or comes of age in some other manner;

- persons deprived by a valid court ruling of their freedom in part or full due to psychological illness or any such illness that makes them legally unable to act on their own behalf;

- persons deprived of their public rights by a valid court ruling that is not subject to revision;

- persons deprived of their right to vote by the valid ruling of a Tribunal of State.

On the other hand, persons may not take part in elections that have not been deprived of public rights by a valid court ruling but are, on the basis of a court sentence, being imprisoned, detained or are serving time in social adjustment centers or are temporarily under arrest. They may not participate in voting because the place of their enforced residence does not provide points at which they can vote.

What is the principle of secret balloting?

This principle consists of several elements. These are:

- the equipment of polling places with an appropriate number of covered voting booths in which the voter may freely express his will by crossing out from electoral lists the names of the candidates that he feels do not meet the requirements of a deputy (or not cross out any name);

-- the voters submit their votes in envelopes so that no one can see how they voted;

-- the placing of these envelopes in sealed voting urns opened at the end of balloting by a commission so that no one can determine which envelope belongs to a given voter.

Let us recall that during discussion of the principles of the Sejm electoral ordinance, there were many demands that each voter be able to express his will in a closed booth, in other words, that he be required to enter such a booth. Propaganda radio broadcasts attack our voting system for the lack of such a regulation. In passing its voting ordinance, the Sejm took the position that secret balloting is the right rather than the obligation of voters. The voter himself is to decide whether he will use that right or not. Meanwhile, the obligation of the electoral commissions is to guarantee voters conditions under which they can exercise this right.

Obligatory entry to a closed booth to guarantee secret balloting would therefore restrict voters to make a free decision in a situation in which not one but several elements guarantee the secrecy of voting.

12261

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POLAND

OSMANCZYK STRICKEN FROM BALLOT, REMAINS OPTIMIST

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 13 Oct 85 p 12

[Report on interview with Edmund Osmanczyk, outgoing member of the Sejm, by Richard Swartz, in Warsaw; date not specified]

[Text] For the first time within living memory, Edmund Osmanczyk's name will not appear on the ballot in today's election for the Polish Sejm. "I don't really know why the regime believes it will be able to have any contact with the nation in the future," that Parliament's last independent member told Richard Swartz, who talked with him in Warsaw.

Edmund Osmanczyk sits at home in his armchair embodying the state of things in Poland--the very picture of the miserable political situation. Five o'clock was drawing near, and it was time for his daily whiskey with a great deal of water: despite his 72 years, he has kept his Hemingway habits and the self-discipline that befits an old war correspondent and one of the last surviving rapporteurs from the Nuremberg trials.

The misery lay in the fact that elections for the Sejm--Poland's Parliament--were to be held that Sunday, and for the first time within living memory, Edmund Osmanczyk's name would not be on the ballot for his constituency in Opole. It means that the last of the old Parliament's independent members has been eliminated. With a few strokes of the administrative pen, his old constituency has disappeared, and he has never even considered the possibility of letting himself be nominated by the PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth), which is General Jaruzelski's pet and substitute for a popular front. "What kind of nonsense is that?" he asks fiercely. "It is not the Polish nation which needs to be reborn; it is our state which needs it."

Except for a few years in the 1960's, Osmanczyk has been a member of the Sejm ever since the early 1950's. Without belonging to the party or to any organization close to it, he has been able to play his independent role against the background of the agreement reached between Wladyslaw Gomulka and Stefan Wyszynski after the "Polish October" of 1956--the cardinal urged the Poles to vote in the parliamentary elections in exchange for the Communist Party's concessions to the Catholic Church and the possibility of having a

group of Catholic members in Parliament with quiet support from the church. There was also room in that agreement for a few completely independent and unattached members such as Osmanczyk. But this Sunday the Catholic Church will not be urging the Poles to participate in the election, and Primate Jozef Glemp is ostentatiously in Rome. Nor will the new Parliament have any Catholic representatives sitting there with the church's discreet blessing. And Edmund Osmanczyk is sitting at home in his armchair.

Sipping his whiskey, he says: "I really don't know why the regime believes it will be able to have any contact with the nation in the future. There used to be at least a handful of people who could speak unpleasant truths. But now? The new Sejm has been castrated; it doesn't represent anything except itself."

Osmanczyk spoke at length about the duel that has been going on in Poland ever since the Middle Ages between those in power and Parliament. Parliament has been an instrument for dialogue: an institutionalized system that has taken part in and shaped the nation's destiny. Stalinism destroyed that tradition, and although, in the constitution, it formally recognizes it, what it actually recognized was only a Potemkin facade. But in every crisis--as in 1956, 1970, or 1980--the nation returns to tradition, and Parliament gets a new lease on life. Osmanczyk therefore views Sunday's election as a relapse into the destructive Stalinist tradition.

But Osmanczyk's somewhat sweeping survey of history is open to a great number of objections. To what extent does Parliament have any function at all in an actual socialist state? The majority of its members have always been well disciplined and compliant and have voted as the party wished. Is it not true that people like Osmanczyk have, if anything, simply served as an "alibi"--as pure decoration?

"I have heard that many times," he says. "But I say that the experience of the past few years has proved the opposite. There must always be someone to stand up for tradition, no matter how weak and solitary his voice may be. Someone must take it upon himself to say openly what many people are thinking and to do so publicly. The younger generation in particular must always have an example before its eyes and know that the situation is never so hopeless that nothing is worthwhile any longer. We older people know that life goes on, that it must go on, and that as a result, even the slightest achievement is worthwhile and must not be thrown away in despair. That is how I saw my role in the Sejm."

Actually, Osmanczyk views the situation in Poland quite optimistically, at least over the long term. Young people are no longer saddled with the burden of the past--they are not filled with the fear from the Stalinist era, and they are no longer anti-German--and hardly even anti-Russian. They are simply against communism. "But that is a problem not for the Polish nation but for the Polish communist party," he says. Young Poles are hardly browbeaten and afraid any longer: they have experienced Solidarity, and because of that, all of the regime's attempts to restore a rule of silence seem doomed to failure. The thing that worries him instead is the deep chasm between state and nation. The Polish press, and especially the Catholic press, is currently discussing

once again the absence of a focus or "central point" in the country's political tradition. There have been constant efforts since the war to build such a bridge between state and society, and if there was anything that Edmund Osmańczyk wanted to contribute to, it was precisely that--perhaps the most utopian and impossible task anyone could think of in today's Poland.

Ever since the mid-1950's, Osmańczyk has gone to the rostrum time after time to remind the Poles of the fact that Poland is a state with about 15 million fellow countrymen outside its borders and of the need for a "hard" zloty. Seeing to it that the ties between the mother country and those 15 million are not broken is something he has viewed as one of his missions in life. He has argued in behalf of a liberal passport law, opportunities for travel, open borders, and contacts in as many areas as possible. That work has not always been popular, and Moscow has been irritated at being reminded that many Poles live in the Soviet Union and that "now the 15 million also include Karol Wojtyła," as Osmańczyk says with a mischievous smile.

"Do you know that in New York there is a Mr Pick who for years and years has been publishing a daily list of the black market value of various currencies? And do you know that for years and years past our Polish zloty has been at the bottom of that list? Believe me, that is not of interest only as a curiosity. It is a result of our system, and as long as it continues, our economy can never be reformed."

As far back as 1949, he wrote a book on the need for a "hard" zloty and for a currency reform of the kind that took place in Germany after the war. Not until 1981, during the days of Solidarity, could that book be published. He adds: "It is just as timely today as it was then. And I'm afraid it is going to remain that way."

"Our enormous emigration is a part of this nation's realities," he said suddenly. "There is not a single Pole who does not have relatives in the West and who does not get other pictures of reality from that source. Those pictures differ from the ones we are offered here, and they therefore serve as an effective indictment of our system in Poland."

He went to one of his bookcases, pulled out a thick book with a blue cover, and placed it before me on the table. Along with his years in the Sejm, that blue book is his life's work: it is an encyclopedia containing everything having to do with the United Nations--a private scholar's half-mad one-man undertaking, as though from a different age, and one which he himself, with a touch of irony at his own expense, calls a "Calvinistic" project. For 20 years he worked on his reference work between 6 o'clock and 9 o'clock every morning and was constantly stuffing his pockets full of slips of paper with words or information to be checked out. He tells the story of the American soldier who was asked by General Eisenhower what he wanted most and answered that he wanted a beef cow, but a whole one, in his haversack. "Here is the beef cow, whole and complete," said Edmund Osmańczyk, and he put his hands on his blue book. It was the Spanish edition of his UN Encyclopedia. Another copy lies on the desk of Secretary General Perez de Quellar, and an English edition will soon be off the press with over 13,000 entries and a special

section with nearly 3,000 international agreements, conventions, and treaties. It is the world's only objective encyclopedia, he says with some pride. Only in the bibliography has he allowed himself an opinion of his own: he looked up "Yalta" and pointed delightedly at a reference to a work by the Polish-American Zbigniew Brzezinski.

He said: "In our world, no one except the superpowers can act as he pleases. All the rest of us must stick to the rules of the game. They are all here in my encyclopedia, and anyone who wants to--especially the young generation here in Poland--can look them up and read about them. Everything would be a lot more difficult without such rules. And if we don't abide by them, we are in danger of being run over by the superpowers, more or less the way a bicycle rider is run over by a semitrailer."

That metaphor seems to contain the very essence of Edmund Osmanczyk's political viewpoint: basically optimistic and hopeful, it has not capitulated in the face of his generation's disillusionments and defeats and perhaps reflects a naive trust in common sense. But in similar apartments all around the eastern part of our continent, others like Edmund Osmanczyk are standing up for what is Europe.

When I left, it was already dark, and in the convent next door, nuns were singing to the glory of God. Pigeons pressing at the cornices on the wall of the house to get away from the drizzling rain were tramping around ceaselessly in their own excrement. A light was on in Edmund Osmanczyk's study, and from somewhere in another part of the old town, a single bell was ringing shrilly and frenetically for vespers.

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POLAND

MESSNER INTERVIEW: PERSONAL BACKGROUND, VIEWS ON REFORM

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 37, 15 Sep 85 pp 1,4

[Interview with Deputy Premier Zbigniew Messner by Andrzej Kepinski in cooperation with Zbigniew Kilar: "To Think Pragmatically"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Mr Professor: In November of 1981 you were in an automobile accident. Usually in such situations, people conduct a self-examination. They think of their children, those dearest to them, the happy moments in their life, etc. Perhaps some thoughts connected with your office also entered your mind.

[Answer] The accident happened on a Sunday evening in November and coincided with the winter's first cold snap. I was returning from Katowice with my driver. Suddenly a wild boar darted into the road just a few dozen meters ahead of the car, too close for us to stop, and my driver made a quick turn. Unfortunately, the road was covered with snow and we went into a skid. My spine was fractured. But I was also very fortunate because I was not permanently crippled -- my legs were not paralyzed. To this day, I wear a heavy cast. However, I have become very absorbed in my work, which makes me forget my ailments and also, in a certain sense, is hastening my return to health.

[Question] Back in 1981 few people in Poland knew who Zbigniew Messner was. And today you are playing a key role in the government. Can it be said, then, that your rise was meteoric?

[Answer] It is very hard to define this concept. My career path thus far has not been one of a politician. I was primarily a scientific researcher and a teacher. But the economic sciences have a close relationship with current economic policy, with the problems which affect the country today. On the other hand, it is also true that from my early youth I have been interested in political problems and was active in youth organizations. At the same time that I was obtaining my educational degrees -- doctor, doctor habilitatus, professor -- I was active (beginning in 1948) in the Youth Organization of the Society of Workers' Universities) and later in the Union of Polish Student Youth. In 1953 I joined the PZPR. For many years I was a member of the Provincial Peoples' Council in Katowice and chairman of the Commission for

Economic Development and Territorial Management. I think I can say, without the risk of sounding conceited, that the people of Silesia and the Silesian Basin knew me not only from my scientific reports and my work as rector (during 1975 to 1982) at the Economics Academy, but also from my public activity. And that is probably what decided my election as chairman of the Provincial People's Council in Katowice.

[Question] Did the votes of the councillors who supported your candidacy also determine that you did not agree with the concept of expansion put forth during the 1970's by the staff of the erstwhile PZPR Provincial Committee first secretary in Katowice?

[Answer] Indeed, my views on environmental protection were far different from those embodied in the concept of developing, at any cost, all fields of industry in Katowice Province. I believe that the process of deconcentrating industry in Silesia could have been begun earlier, and particularly in the 1970's, and that such a tremendous accumulation of industrial potential should not have been permitted. The mistake of concentrating industry in Silesia haunts us to this day. We want to put a halt to the degradation of the environment, but at the same time we cannot allow ourselves to close factories or slow down the rate of production, for which the country is waiting. It is a vicious circle.

[Question] And all of this was enough for you to go on to Warsaw and become the deputy premier who coordinates the work of the government?

[Answer] You have forgotten about the most important thing. In 1981 I was elected delegate to the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress. I was then elected to membership in the Central Committee and later to the Politburo. At the beginning of 1982, I assumed the functions of the first secretary of the Provincial Committee in Katowice. I believe that my work in the Katowice party echelon prompted General Jaruzelski to propose that I take the position of deputy premier. This was not an easy decision for me to make.

[Question] You have described your path to great politics. Is there a history of political activity in your immediate family?

[Answer] Not really. I only remember that my father's brother, Jan Messner, was closely connected with the Polish Socialist Party before the war. My father was a railroad worker in the State Railroad Shops in Stryj, in a town about 80 kilometers from Lwow in Eastern Little Poland. That is where I and my two brothers were born and raised. We lived on the outskirts of town. I remember from my childhood that my father took part in strikes. My mother would send me to the railroad shops, where I handed my father food through the fence. At that time I did not know what a strike meant. I remember only that it was a very great event in the small town. I am told that I was a good student and there were never any family squabbles on that account. My father was very strict. He demanded a great deal of himself and others. I have inherited these traits from him. My family reproaches me for being too rigid. Also, the school taught us discipline.

[Question] During your childhood and early youth did you come in contact with people who had an influence on shaping your views and thus your later activities?

[Answer] From the period of the Nazi occupation when I was already a student in the basic trade school I recall a teacher, Mr Boguniewicz, who lived in Stryj. He would meet with a group of students after class hours and hold long conversations. We looked forward to these meetings. Not until years later did I realize that this was an enormous educational task on his part, his teaching of patriotism to us teenagers, preparing us for life and work in a liberated fatherland. I also remember Mr Wachulka, a mathematician. My father's attitude also impressed me during those difficult times. The Germans saw that our name was of German origin and constantly tried to talk my father into signing the volkslist. But my father remained loyal to his Polish origins.

When Stryj was liberated by the Red Army -- this was in the spring of 1944 -- I began my studies in a Soviet ten-grade school. When Poland's new boundaries were established, as repatriates -- through Mielec, where we were sheltered by someone for several months -- we made our way after our father to Upper Silesia. We settled in Gliwice. I enrolled at a trade administration secondary school, of which Dr Sanecki, the well-known prewar economist, author of the book, "Organizational Economics," was director. There I obtained my secondary school certificate. My years of study at the secondary school had a great influence on shaping my personality. In my class, as often was the case after the war, were students who differed widely in knowledge and age. Frequently there were 25-year olds who came to the school directly from the front lines. Professor Galinski, who is now 80 years old and still lives in Gliwice, was especially caring of all of us. Those days, without orders from the teacher but on our own initiative, we often met in the afternoons and helped each other. Those years accustomed me to joint and organized work. My outlook on things crystallized under the influence of my schoolmates. Many of them demonstrated a political stance which today can be described as leftist.

While in school I was very active in social organizations. This active participation in the youth movement and my study program -- because I must say that my school, the State Higher School of Economics Administration was one of the first in the country to teach the Marxist theory of economics -- were responsible for the fact that I joined the PZPR.

[Question] Mr Professor, you have linked all of your adult life with one school, the State Higher School of Economics Administration, the present Economics Academy in Katowice. You began your studies there and reached the lofty position of rector. What kind of problems did you concern yourself with as a scientist?

[Answer] A small correction. I began my studies in Szczecin, in the foreign trade department. But after several months, while on a visit home during the holidays, I transferred to the Katowice school. After 3 years, in 1951, I graduated, but beginning with the second year I had already been a junior assistant. Jokingly, it may be said that I combined what I had learned of theory with practice. Because of poor financial circumstances while in

school, I had to work part-time. I worked in a sawmill in Pyskowice as a lower-grade official.

My scientific work was connected with a field of economics called accounting, and later with the organization of data processing. I wrote my doctoral and doctoral habilitatus dissertations on the subject of cost accounting as an instrument in enterprise management. As science progressed, bringing with it the engineering means to process information, I began to work on bringing computers into management. I was involved, among other things, in processing data for the informational needs of economic systems.

[Question] Were you a good manager at the Katowice Economics Academy?

[Answer] It is hard to say. Please go to Katowice and ask my colleagues. I can say that I tried very hard to make it possible for the school to expand. During my two terms as rector, 1975 to 1982, the school partially solved its accommodation problems, growing by two new buildings. We were able to establish a data processing center, without which it would now be hard to imagine a modern economics school. The number of places in the student dormitories also increased. The school's social and cultural facilities were expanded, a great deal of sports equipment was added, as well as another gymnasium and swimming pool. During these years the number of young researchers grew. They continued their studies towards their doctoral degrees, giving them the privilege of conducting independent research. Therefore, I also tried to provide the financial and intellectual prerequisites for the school's further expansion.

[Question] In your daily practice as deputy premier, what, out of your theoretical knowledge, has been useful to you?

[Answer] The scientific discipline which I practiced gave me a basis for a better understanding of the importance of the functioning of enterprises. It is a fact that here, "at the top," I must be guided by a broader degree of generalization, but I think that in order to understand the economy on a large scale, one must know the enterprise very well: its assets and liabilities, and be very disciplined in this area. I learned this discipline when I was a "quantity" man, which made a pragmatic thinker out of me.

[Question] In other words, you are not a dreamer.

[Answer] Economics is pragmatism.

[Question] Was it difficult for you to transform yourself from an economic scientist to a politician?

[Answer] I believe myself to be primarily an economic activist.

[Question] During the 1970's, the first secretaries believed it to be the height of honor to leave some kind of lasting legacy. What remains after you in Katowice from your years as secretary?

[Answer] Two years is too short a period to leave behind anything lasting. There was only enough time to begin to execute certain ideas. One of them was the endeavor to lessen the gap between the effects of the excessive industrialization of Silesia and the indispensable and broadly interpreted social infrastructure. I am referring not only to environmental protection, but primarily to solving the problem of water for Silesia. While I was chairman of the Provincial People's Council and first secretary, we put the "Dzieckowice" reservoir into the central plan and began its construction. The problem in Silesia is that of saving housing lands from the ravages to the landscape caused by coal mining. And other matters, such as insufficient money for the health service, protective green belts, a boiler house, or a sewage-treatment plant -- these will not be solved in 1 or 2 years. This will take time and money. As to the latter, we have suggested a method to the central level which might help to improve environmental protection. Money coming from the industrial enterprises for environmental protection should remain at the disposal of the provincial authorities. They could certainly be used to finance capital projects which would protect man's natural environment.

[Question] Mr Professor, in the absence of General Jaruzelski, it is you who most often directs the work of the government. On what does the coordination of the activities of the particular ministries, which often have differing, but still correct, from their point of view, interests, depend, when the best interests of the state are to be served?

[Answer] In accordance with Council of Ministers' regulations, I replace the premier in his absence. Coordination depends mainly on developing, by various forms and methods, a uniform government position on matters of the most vital importance for the country's social and economic development -- to enable the making of decisions which take various reasons into account and which, at the same time, are aimed at consistently following the course of action determined by policy. This requires that meetings of the Government Presidium and the Council of Ministers must be preceded by difficult and sometimes lengthy preliminary work. It is my job to initiate such work, and sometimes directly supervise it. Most often the role of the coordinator concerns economic matters, which does not mean that the entire complexity of events, occurring outside that field, is not taken into account.

[Question] Why, exactly, did you become coordinator of economic matters?

[Answer] I do not know. It may be that the complexity of the economic situation in Poland requires such a function.

[Question] Do your views on economic matters coincide with those of the premier?

[Answer] If that were not the case, I cannot imagine a situation in which my reasonably effective cooperation could be ensured.

[Question] In the 1970's we were told that we are the tenth economic power in the world. And are we perhaps today potentially such a power, only this

potential must be activated, so that we can live as citizens of a state which is one of the economic leaders in the world?

[Answer] That question contains a great deal of irony. But it is true that during the 40 postwar years we accumulated a large industrial potential. Maybe not as large as the propaganda of the 1970's said, and, as it turned out, the result of the large availability of foreign credits -- living on credit. We all felt good then, not only those who took the credits but also those who benefited from them. But this potential is not as meager as now appears to us in the light of the economic breakdown. I believe that Poland is still a country with a large potential for growth of production, and thus, a growth in national income. But there is only one condition: that all of those for work to generate national income contribute to this effort. It is not just a matter of the government, but of all economic organizations.

[Question] That is a truism!

[Answer] Yes, it is a truism. But we must break through the psychological barrier in relation to work in this country. To put it another way, we must shape pro-production awareness. That is the only way out today. Do you not see the contradiction? On the one hand, everyone is complaining about the standard of living, and on the other hand we have low labor productivity, very poor discipline, and very little willingness to earn more money.

[Question] The opponents of reform are saying that in its present form and with the difficulties that our economy is now encountering, reform has no chance of being accomplished. Other believe that the people are tired of the crisis and the method of extricating ourselves from it, that there is a public demand for an impressive "leap forward," and yet official sources say that we will not reach the living standard of the 1970's until the end of the 1980's. Maybe there is another way of getting out of the Polish crisis.

[Answer] I do not believe in impressive leaps which are unsupported by arduous work and collective effort. I am convinced, however, that we will come out of the crisis faster if the various barriers, both in the economic sphere itself and in the area of social awareness, are surmounted more effectively. We have knowingly taken the path of reform to do this, i.e., the path of broader utilization of economic mechanisms. Reform is not an art for art's sake. Nor is it a miraculous means for automatically removing economic difficulties. The anticipated results of reform were sometimes exaggerated and did not take into account the actual state of the economy or the painfulness of the economic decisions which have to be made if the anticipated results are to be hastened. The success of reform mechanisms is also not their internal matter. It depends to a large degree on the materials defects in our economy, on the structure of the manufacturing apparatus, and on the feasibility of modernizing that apparatus. We have an uneconomical, thus outdated, structure of production, set not only in its methods but also in social attitudes and behaviors. Our actions, therefore, must be concentrated on the state's economic effort, on those selected measures which are regarded to be most effective. The success of the actions mentioned will depend on the correctness of this selection and on consistent execution. Reform is supposed

to supply effective instruments, but it will not automatically make the selection for us.

[Question] How much does the level of social awareness impede the transformations which are indispensable?

[Answer] There is no precise answer to that question. One thing is sure, it does impede them. That depends on the community, the region of the country, socio-occupational groups, and many, many other factors.

[Question] What is the source of your information on social moods in the country?

[Answer] Every member of the government receives information on the situation in the country through government and party channels and directly from the provinces. Reports from this last source -- contrary to the 1970's when it was written about how good things were in the country -- are very critical. But mostly I sense social moods from the dozens of conversations which I have at every occasion with people, not people in the circles of government, but people in the workplaces and institutions. I take advantage of every visit to Katowice Province and other regions of the country to hold such conversations.

[Question] Mr Professor, the technical-engineering cadre calls attention, with concern, to the widening technological gap between our economy and the world's. Electronics and microprocessors have taken over the developed countries. Our economic plans provide for expansion of heavy industry, mining and power. Will not such plans further widen this gap?

[Answer] We are touching upon two different questions. One of the causes of the widening technological gap is the unsuitable quality of our metallurgical products, which has a large impact on the shaping of a materials barrier. The modernization of metallurgy is absolutely essential, therefore, and the government has approved such a program. It does not oppose, but complements, the program for the development of electronics and similar documents. On the other hand, what is important are the disproportions between production for the market and the manufacture of means of production. Here it is essential that the proportions be gradually shifted towards the market and towards the export of processed goods, in view of the limited capabilities for processing raw materials. Another problem -- and that is probably what the questions was about -- is modernization of the manufacturing apparatus in the direction of energy- and materials-efficient technologies. That is, not the pitting of "heavy" against "light," but "modern" against "obsolete," although in the conception of modernity this "light" is probably materials-efficient.

[Question] A large group of cadre with higher educations are working in schools and institutions. How does it happen that the results of their work deviate so greatly from public expectations?

[Answer] For many years the scientific potential was effectively weakened. There is a lack of research concentration on selected problems. Large sums of money, allocated for science and engineering, vanish for inordinately expanded subjects: "a little bit for everybody." And that is probably the reason for

the failures. A feedback must occur between science and industry, meaning that science should submit the results of its work and industry should demand new solutions from science. In addition, very radical changes are needed in higher education. The present system of employing scientific workers also must be changed. There should be fewer of them, but only the best of the best should be employed, those who can make a concrete contribution to the nation's overall achievements.

[Question] You meet with the leaders of the socialist states. How do they see our economic problems?

[Answer] First, they approach our matters with great concern. They observe our actions very thoroughly. They are disturbed by the prolonged state of economic imbalance. CEMA is a system of combined instruments and what happens in Poland affects the economic situation of the other countries. At present, the priority task of the CEMA countries is better cooperation in the complementariness of development, coproduction, specialization, and division of production tasks, freeing the socialist states of their dependence on capitalist markets. These plans cannot be fully executed when large economic disproportions exist.

[Question] But in addition to your debts in Western banks, we also have growing commitments to our partners in the CEMA...

[Answer] Of course, except that the relationship of the socialist countries to our obligations is completely different from that of the capitalist states. Our financial dependence is not being exploited as an instrument of political pressure. The socialist countries make it possible for us to repay our debts on convenient terms. For example, the Soviet Union has agreed to mutually balance turnovers in about 1990.

[Question] The 21st century is knocking on our door. Ordinary mortals, and not just in Poland, are asking more and more frequently: What are Eastern and Western politicians striving for, and what awaits us in the future?

[Answer] Two subjects dominate talks with leaders of the socialist countries: the striving to maintain world peace and economic matters, and in the latter, concern about improving management efficiency. Resistance to the threat of war is another block of matters discussed most often and incorporated in concrete decisions. The striving to prevent an armed world conflict stems from the deep conviction and commitment of the leaders of the socialist countries. I am sure that these efforts will end in success, that after the recent years of intensive arming and billion-dollar outlays for these armaments the arms race has been halted and East-West stabilization will take place, that we will begin the 21st century in peace.

* * *

This interview is from the book "In Other Words -- Who's Who in Poland?" (Czytelnik Publishing Cooperative), which will appear in bookstores in a few weeks. It contains interviews with persons prominent in political and social activities.

POLAND

'NOWE DROGI,' YUGOSLAV ORGAN HOLD IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Oct 85 p 2

["Ideological Theoretical Conference between NOWE DROGI and SOCIJALIZAM"]

[Own Information] [Text] From 16 to 18 October in Mierki near Olsztynka, the second Polish-Yugoslav conference took place. It was dedicated to a discussion of the problems of the effectiveness of socialist selfgovernment. Polish and Yugoslav students, political and selfgovernment activists, and publicists took part in a multifaceted discussion. First and foremost they took up the questions of the influence of selfgovernment on the effectiveness of the socialist economy, the role of selfgovernment in raising society's work productivity, in the process of socializing the processes of planning and administration, in the realization of the socialist principle of distribution, "to each according to his ability," and the deepening of socialist democracy.

On the Yugoslav side, among others, Stipe Suvar, Ivo Fabinc, Zarko Papic, Mihaly Bogнар, and Dragutin Marsenic took part in the discussion on the theme. On the Polish side, the following spoke: Jozef Barecki, Ryszard Brodowicz, Kazimierz Doktor, Stanislaw Gabrielski, Leszek Gilejko, Bohdan Gliniski, Wieslaw Klimczak, Ryszard Kozlowski, Walerian Solinski, and Stanislaw Wronski.

In the course of the agenda, Zdzislaw Sadowski, the deputy government plenipotentiary for economic reform, Jozef Zajchowski, the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, and Stanislaw Nowacki, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, presented the problems of the realization of the economic reform in Poland with particular focus on worker selfmanagement, preparations for the five year plan and modernizing the mechanisms of the implementation of scientific-technological progress.

The proceedings were chaired by Stipe Suvar, editor in chief of SOCIJALIZAM, and Stanislaw Wronski, the editor in chief of NOWE DROGI. The conviction was expressed that the discussion of the theme will be continued in the future.

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POLAND

YOUTH ISSUES HIGHLIGHTED

ZSMP Hosts Political Education Program

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19-20 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] In Warsaw there took place the national opening of the successive year of political education of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP]. The numerous participating activists, instructors, and propagators of socio-political knowledge collaborating with the organization, discussed the major directions of work, emphasizing the need for particular concern for the shaping of civic attitudes of youth, popularization of ideological assumptions of Marxism-Leninism, propagation of the socialist outlook and lay culture. The participants listened to the opening lecture on the subject of national understanding in the context of the activities of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON] and the Sejm, which was given by the Deputy Chairman of the National Council of the PRON, Alfred Beszterda.

'Young Generation' Forum Holds Session

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by R. Nalaszekiewicz: "Controversies"]

[Text] Controversies around the thesis of the law on increasing the participation of youth in the country's public life revealed themselves among the participants of a discussion which took place on Monday in the headquarters of the National Council of the PRON.

It was already the tenth meeting of the forum. About 350 people were present in the room, nearly all of them young. There were members of leaderships of youth unions and authors of the discussed theses. The discussion was led by Jerzy Jaskiernia, general secretary of the National Council.

The introduction was interesting. On one side, Janusz Romanowski, a lawyer, chairman of the Main Collegial Court of the ZSMP, defended and advocated the thesis to the draft law before the gathering. He stated that in our country it was necessary to guarantee the unity of laws and duties of youth, necessary

to create conditions for youth for co-deciding about itself and its generation, and to enable the young to participate in power so that they could in the process of creating law contribute to the removal of various obstructions to the achievement of independence.

Adam Wojcik, a senior legislator in the Legal Office of the Sejm Chancellery, took upon himself the role of "devil's advocate" and attacked the assumptions. Under discussion is the age limit 25, 30 or 35 as the end of youth. Should there be a law at all created for a social group defined by age? In 1973, the Sejm passed a law on youth very similar to the current thesis and... to this day, unimplemented. There is no need to create a new law, it is sufficient to implement the old one. Too many theses are of a declaratory character and constitute nothing new.

During the discussion, something that was surprising to me happened. The majority of the young people present in the room, who the planned law would serve, attacked it sharply. Particular formulations were negated and in general the need for proclaiming such an act was negated. A student from a high school in Gdansk very sharply criticized the fact that the law was aimed chiefly at members of youth organizations, and asked "What about unorganized youth?" "We students," she said "do not want this law."

Similar reservations and protests were submitted by PAX activists and other organizations of lay Catholics. "Do we have a youth problem today?" it was asked. "There are no separate matters that would concern only youth, all of them concern the whole society and it as a whole must resolve them."

Numerous voices, including ZSMP members stated that particular theses contribute nothing new and are too general, and in too small a degree apply to non-organized youth; the specifics of the Polish countryside are not included at all.

The critical voices were supported in their majority by Chairman of the Legal Commission of the National Council of the PRON, Andrzej Elbanowski, who stated that there is nothing worse in legislation than a norm without a sanction, without punishment for breaking it. As a PRON activist, he supported social understanding and unity around the most important issues. For this reason all actions, even according to age [sic], evoke protest. Nevertheless, he saw the need to help youth in overcoming life's obstacles. He proposed his participation in the preparation of a new version of the document.

Responding to the charge that the draft unnecessarily included theses on Volunteer Labor Brigades [OHP], the commander of the Warsaw brigade, Leszek Pujdak, defended the existing writ. According to him, the OHP plays such a great role in the education of youth today--for example in the organization of summer activities--that the writ on brigades must be included in this law.

Only at the end of the meeting the defendants of the draft spoke. They stated that such criticism is often demagogic. Who is to represent the young before the authorities of various levels? Non-organized youth? How is it to be done

from the technical standpoint? Youth unions are criticized now because they came forward with this project. Had they not, criticism would be even stronger. Every young person can choose one of four organizations, can fulfill his or her social ambitions through them, can also act in other organizations--including religious ones. But someone after all must represent youth before the authorities. Who? After all, only organizations whose membership is exclusively young.

In the end, it was agreed that the draft must be corrected and made more precise and that it is too early for far reaching conclusions. For this reason, open discussions of the earliest drafting stage of this document are so important.

Need for 'Youth Law' Questioned

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Oct 85 p 3

[Statements taken by Krystyna Struzyna: "Regulations Will Not Replace Action"]

[Text] Dr Wanda Nagorna, Adjunct Professor in the Institute of Political Economy of the Katowice Economic Academy: I believe that the assertion "nothing about us without us" should be found in the introductory theses of the law on youth. Although this is the expression of all its theses, this motion is not written directly. There is also nothing in the theses about a direct relationship between privileges for young people and good work and learning--a system of motivation. Too little attention is given to upbringing by means of work. I think it would be worthwhile to return, for example, to the participation of young people in the potato harvest. On the other hand I am opposed to employing in enterprises people who are responsible for youth affairs--mainly because with the current economic situation in the country, enterprises must before everything else fulfill their basic obligation.

I also do not see the need for calling into existence the State Youth Fund. Existing youth organizations, after all, have their own funds. Young people can also undertake a lot of additional work which brings them financial benefits. Transferring from one account to another seems to me senseless. On the other hand, young people more than now should be interested in work as the main way to improve their material conditions. Beyond this, I think that many of the resolutions included in the law are a repetition of the statutory bylaws of our youth organizations.

Dr Ewa Jablonska-Horak, Adjunct Professor in the Institute of Political Economy of the Katowice Economic Academy: Nothing results directly from the youth law as a result of the generality of many of its theses. The only new thing in the theses is the proposal to create the State Youth Fund. Personally I see no need to create this fund. After all, contributions can flow into the account of organizations, institutions, and particular persons also now.

In my opinion, no document or law will influence the activity of youth. Neither will it be caused by decisions from above. On the contrary they can

often bring a result contrary to the one desired. Observations show that membership in an organization is often decided by individual particularism. Moreover, one must remember that a decisive majority of youth is not organized. In the theses, on the other hand, there is nothing said about how the law will be realized in relation to this group of young people.

Lubomir Gromadka, activist of the Commission of the History of the Youth Movement in Katowice: It has become a custom with us to usually remember regulations concerning privileges and laws, and as a rule the obligations are forgotten. Therefore, I am against creating new laws. The existing ones must first be fully implemented. If they turn out to be not quite useful, then they should be amended. I believe that law in itself is nothing if it is not accompanied by enforcement by the state in many aspects of life. On the other hand, with regard to establishing the age limit for youth, it should not be defined by years but ought to result from acquiring a profession, accepting work, and becoming materially independent.

Czeslaw Bugdalski, chairman of the Provincial Council of Youth Universities in Katowice: In my opinion, the theses touch too lightly the problem of a young person's upbringing. They ought to emphasize clearly for example that school is a state institution. Because in the social consciousness, a mistaken conviction has been formed that it is a social institution. The institution's obligations toward youth are not made precise enough. The statements that they are to support the amateur movement, undertake initiatives, are only fancy words from the language of laws. On the other hand, there is no complete proposal for improving the economic situation of the young, of introducing the relation of good pay for good work, or a clear, unequivocal bylaw that the amount of remuneration depends exclusively on work in every position and every profession.

'Youth Law' Forgets Rural Youth

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Oct 85 p 4

[Statements taken by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "Don't Forget About the Countryside"]

[Text] "The assumptions of the draft of the law on the expansion of the participation of youth in the country's sociopolitical, economic, and cultural life," evoked a great interest among young people. Today we publish opinions on this subject which several representatives of rural youth gave to the journalist of RZECZPOSPOLITA.

Urszula Tkaczyk, a member of the Union of Rural Youth [ZMW] from the Stara Blotnica gmina in Radom province: I believe that rural youth also needs this type of law. It ought to facilitate their professional start and their beginnings of independence and adulthood. Unfortunately, the submitted draft tells us little about rural life and concerns rural youth very little. The thesis about organizing and about youth taking over institutions or cultural

posts is attractive, but under one condition--that the state will continue to finance these posts and leave the issues of program, personnel, etc to us.

The draft does not say enough about the manner in which rural youth is to decide about its economic life. Youth representatives ought to sit on the councils of agricultural banks, sharing decisions on the distribution of credits, with the chairmen of gmina cooperatives, gmina chiefs, and on all commissions that decide on machinery, tractors, and permits for production and housing investments.

To be precise, the draft in its present form brings very few new elements into the life of rural youth. If, however, it was to be specified and adapted to our specifics, such a law would be very necessary for us.

Jacek Kosmaty, Secretary of the Cultural Commission of the Provincial Board of the ZMW in Katowice: Is there a sense at all in undertaking a legal act which in some way divides a society between the young and old? If this law is implemented, after a while, the retirees or middle aged people will start demanding a similar law. One should therefore consider whether there is sense in passing this law from this point of view. Although "assumptions" do not give any privileges, they impose duties. Nevertheless, such a special treatment of a generation constitutes an introduction of unjust divisions. It favors the young in a way.

Indeed, youth now often has difficulties in getting started, and faces a negative attitude from the older generation. This, however, is to a large degree conditioned by the attitude of youth itself. It has earned such treatment. Too often the young stand aside, too often consumer attitudes prevail among them, and such pathologies as drug addiction and alcoholism concern youth in particular. Should youth be put on a pedestal for this? If on a daily basis, too few positive features can be seen and there is so much bad in the attitudes and behavior of youth, why should we implement a law which in some way gives this generation priorities?

The draft does not lead to levelling disproportions. On the contrary, it favors the city. In all the theses, the word "countryside" makes no appearance. It is true that neither does the word "city," but this does not change the whole expression. We must isolate these points which are addressed particularly to the countryside and which the countryside needs the most. I am afraid that the suggested State Fund for Youth will also develop the initiatives of the young in the cities and large enterprises. This can be seen from the ways of its utilization, in which only the support of culture, sport, and tourism somehow "fits" also the countryside.

I am afraid then that differences between these two milieux will increase even further.

'Youth' Age Limit Question

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by (RN): "How Old?"]

[Text] Leszek Pujdach, commandant of a youth brigade in the Volunteer Labor Brigades [OHP] in Warsaw: The law is necessary as a regulator of the program of activity of youth, simultaneously emphasizing the place of youth in society. It has its own imperfections. Youth organizations, the OHP, youth in the military, are all mentioned in it. At the same time, there are lively expectations: what to offer the rest, the non-organized majority, which does not belong to any organization or formation?

The thesis about age--what constitutes youth--has evoked much controversy. In my mind, what should count here more is the unity of thought, views, and understanding of youth matters, more than the birth certificate alone. We are noting a trend toward independence. At the same time, objective conditions such as a lack of apartments, difficulty in starting in a profession, and low earnings for the young, the necessity of receiving financial aid from parents for a long time slow down this process. Consequently the limit of "youth" that is suggested is so high, namely 35 years.

Institutions and organizations which set as their goal aiding and educating young people, are numerous: school, home, youth unions, political parties, Catholic and religious associations. Despite that, there is a large group of youth to which none of these possibilities appeal. We see it in those who find their way to our brigades--16 year olds and twenty-odd year olds. These are people without professions, without education, and without any outlook; products of an educational gap.

Thanks to this law, we must create something which will help youth to make choices, to find itself in the world and in the country, and thanks to which it will be able to taste independence and responsibility. This youth must also have the possibility of choice among many offers. It is easier for us to build programs than to "sell" them skillfully to the young, to justify them, to encourage, and to draw youth. This applies also to the thesis of this draft law.

One hears accusations that the law applies only to youth organized in unions. This is not true. Nevertheless, one can have such an impression. The more non-organized youth participate in the discussion, the more the final draft will take its interests into consideration.

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POLAND

SECRET SERVICES, POLICE HIGHLIGHTED

Program Honors Secret Services Monument

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] The social committee for the building of the monument "Fallen in the Service and Defence of Peoples' Poland"--which was unveiled in July on Zelazna Brama square in Warsaw--had its final session in Warsaw. During the session, a group of people particularly merited in the spreading of the idea and the building of the monument were honored with diplomas and medals. By order of the Council of State, Reserve Colonel Piotr Jurgas received the Commander's Cross of the Order of Poland Reborn [OOP]; Lieutenant Colonel Zygmunt Kumala, the Officer's Cross of the OOP; Major Aureliusz Jurgas, the Knight's Cross of the OOP. Politburo member Albin Siwak, in the name of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the PZPR expressed sincere thanks to the committee and the many thousands of social activists and realizers of the building of the monument.

Police Role in Saving Art Work Noted

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by (Lut): "Decorations for the Functionaries of the Citizens' Militia [MO] for Protecting the Cultural Heritage"]

[Text] (Own Information) The functionaries of the Citizens' Militia fulfilled a very essential role in the process of defending the cultural heritage, especially in the struggle with thievery and the recovery of stolen objects. Thanks to their work, among other things, a medieval relief stolen from the National Museum returned to Poland from London. Likewise recovered was a priceless painting by a pupil of Rubens, Anthony van Dyck, stolen from the museum in Poznan.

In the Ministry of Culture and Art, on 29 October, there took place a celebratory awarding to a group of officers and functionaries of the MO the decoration "Merited Culture Activist," silver and bronze decorations "For the Protection of Monuments," and honorary diplomas of the Ministry of Culture and

Art. The distinctions, awarded to 29 people, were distributed by the Deputy Minister, Edward Golebiowski.

The award, "Merited Culture Activist," was awarded to, among other people, Lieutenant Colonel in the MO Jerzy Jakubowski, the director of the Criminal Department Provincial Office of Internal Affairs [WUSW] in Lodz.

"Such crimes as the theft of art works are a small percent of the general balance of burglary and theft," Lt Col J. Jakubowski told the journalists of RZECZPOSPOLITA. "However, their social harmfulness is frequently very great because we work very intensively to solve these cases. In order to solve several thefts, particularly the ones that come in a series, we form special groups. We had, for example, a series of 23 burglaries of churches in Lodz and in the province. From December to April the work of such a special group went on and two perpetrators of the robberies were caught. We recovered half of the stolen objects that were valued at around three million zloties.

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PROSECUTOR GENERAL ON COOPERATION WITH MASS MEDIA

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Oct 85 p 6

[Article by (PAP)]

[Text] On the 17 October the office of the Procurator General of the Polish Peoples' Republic evaluated the cooperation of the prosecutor with the mass media, and emphasized the considerable enlivening of these contacts. It directed it toward the formation of legal consciousness of the citizen, strengthening social discipline, stimulating initiatives in the fight against transgressions of the law, and building confidence in the state and its organs.

Particular attention is paid in the procuracy to the swift and inciteful reaction to press criticism, seeing in this an essential factor in the formation of the opinion of citizens about the workings of the procuracy and about the state of law and order and justice in our state. There was also talk about the results of the inspection of the observance of law with regard to the assigning and paying of benefits from the alimony fund and the effectiveness of collecting what is due from people obliged to pay alimony. The procurator's inspection covered the cases which in 1984 were submitted to the Social Security Agency and executor offices from 17 provinces asking for payments from the alimony fund. The findings of these inspections permit the view that the alimony fund law is carried out according to its basic goal, allowing for the granting of aid to children and others who are in a difficult financial situation.

Irregularities found at that stage of execution were presented to the proper organs along with motions aimed at their removal.

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WKO MEETING IN BYDGOSZCZ

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 17 Oct 85 p 2

[Article by (sz)]

[Text] Yesterday there took place under the leadership of the Bydgoszcz governor, Stanislaw Kubczak, a session of the Provincial Organizational Commission [WKO]. As an introduction Janusz Zemke, secretary of the PZPR provincial organization, presented information on the course of the elections in Bydgoszcz province. The elections in Bydgoszcz province passed in an atmosphere of seriousness and peace. More citizens participated in them than in the elections for the peoples' councils. A particularly high presence, the highest in the country, was recorded in the Inowroclaw district (88.2 percent). Also in the city of Bydgoszcz, more people voted than in other large centers. Bydgoszcz society generally passed this political examination well. One can also be satisfied by a large, active participation of citizens in pre-election meetings.

The new team of deputies, comrade Zemke emphasized, ought to find enough time to continue these meetings and inform society about the degree of solving the most burning problems.

In turn, on the basis of materials prepared by the organs of external inspection--the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK], State Trade Inspectorate [PIH], the Treasury, Worker-Peasant Inspectorate [IRCh] and others--the current results of counteracting wastefulness, mismanagement, and the appropriation of property, were evaluated. Despite numerous examples of irregularities in the management of construction materials, fuels or other raw materials; the violation of financial discipline by enterprises, unjustified price hikes, and the like, it was asserted that overall there have been fewer manifestations of disorderliness and mismanagement, and the existence of economic criminals is shorter. In a relatively short time they are revealed. The weak, ineffective work of the services of internal inspection, and insufficient supervision of the enterprises activity by the managing personnel were cited as the basic reason for economic irregularities.

At yesterday's session of the WKO, the mayor of Bydgoszcz also discussed the question of repairing the "Thirtieth Anniversary" underground passage beneath the traffic circle. On the eastern side of the circle, as the citizens of Bydgoszcz know, damp patches have appeared, irritating to social opinion.

Specialists stated that they were caused by breaks in the insulation. This emergency has already been repaired. Apart from this, the documentation is being prepared for carrying out general repairs of the facility damaged already by a decade of use.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

FORMER ACTIVIST BLASTS WALESA--The weekly ZWIAZKOWIEC No 30 published the recollections of one of the workers in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, moulder-foundryman Jerzy Zeranski, from the first four days of the strike in August 1980. "They are sitting on both sides of the table. On one side, the management, with Director Gniech, on the other, delegates with Walesa, whom Zeranski saw for the first time in his life. Outside the window, hundreds of heads. The talks are broadcasted through loudspeakers to the shipyard and outside the gates. Tension, nervousness. The director every so often leaves the room to call Warsaw on a special line. Other [lines] are already dead. Behind the negotiators--their advisers. Zeranski sat practically next to Walesa, back to back. Walesa's chief adviser, Borusiewicz, (one of the main KOR activists--editorial note) was turned toward Walesa. He was continuously writing, leaving the room, whispering into Walesa's ear. Among the department delegates there were nearly no unionists. They disappeared, were not elected, they were on the defensive. The delegates were very young, often very inexperienced, aggressive-toned strike agitators. When something did not work during the talks, when the management used rational arguments, Walesa got up and sang the national anthem or "God Save Poland." We must have gotten up like this 15 times. During the singing, Borusiewicz whispered instructions to Walesa so effectively that afterward, he spoke much better. It was also then I saw buttons with eagles on them in their lapels--the sign of KOR membership." [Text] [Warsaw FAKTY I KOMENTARZE in Polish No 32, 11 Aug 85 p 5] 12270

SCIENTIFIC TECHNICAL COOPERATION WITH CHINA--In Warsaw there took place the 18th session of the scientific-technical cooperation commission of the PRL and PRC. A protocol was signed which defined the directions of cooperation between both states in the spheres of science and technology for next year. An exchange of specialists is anticipated with regard to 63 topics by both sides. Also, proposals regarding mutual export of scientific-technological achievements were discussed. An agreement was reached that work will begin on the preparation of a program of scientific-technological cooperation between the PRL and PRC for the years 1986-1990. On 12 October Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda received the chairman of the Chinese side of the commission, Xie Gaojne. The PRC Ambassador Wang Linging participated in the conversation. (PAP) [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Oct 85 p 1] 12270

RADIO POLONIA INTERVIEWS JARUZELSKI--New York--PAP correspondent Ludwik Arendt, writes: Radio "Polonia," reaching one and a half million US residents of Polish origin, broadcast on Sunday a 16 minute interview given by Premier

Wojciech Jaruzelski during his attendance at the 40th anniversary session of the UN General Assembly in New York. The Premier declared that he wishes that the relations between Polonia and the mother country be as good as possible. He added that Poland is always open and ready for a dialogue for the good of the country and the good of Polonia. He also expressed regret that American Polonia is divided today. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Oct 85 p 1] 12270

VOCATIONAL TRAINING ASSOCIATION MEETING--On 15 October on the occasion of the Day of National Education, Deputy Premier, Chairman of the National Council of the Association of Advanced Professional Training Institutions [ZZDZ], Janusz Obodowski, met in Warsaw with the association employees. Many merited employees and retirees were awarded for their long years of work state decorations and Medals of the 40th Anniversary of Peoples' Poland. The deputy premier thanked all the ZZDZ employees for the realization of the socioeconomic and educational tasks and wished them further achievements in professional work and prosperity in their personal lives. He emphasized the role and achievement of the institutions of professional advancement in the solving of the problems of training and improving the skilled worker and crafts personnel in the national economy. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Oct 85 p 2] 12270

REGIONAL AFFAIRS INSPECTORATE--The Regional Affairs Inspectorate [GIT] undertook a complex inspection of the Biala Podlaska province on 16 October. The chief of the GIT, General of Brigade Edward Drzazga, is directing the inspection group. It is evaluating the functioning of the regional organs of state administration, the provisioning of the cities with agricultural and food articles, and the degree of preparations for the winter. They will likewise investigate problems relating to the struggle with alcoholism. The inspection will continue until 29 October. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 85 p 5] 12270

INTERNATIONAL ART SOCIETY REACTIVATED--As a result of an understanding, the Union of Polish Artists, Painters and Graphic Artists, the Union of Artistic Craftsmen, and the Union of Artists "Polish Applied Art," reactivated the Polish National Committee of the AIAP (International Association of Plastic Arts), establishing its new framework, and choosing its presidium. The vicepresident of the AIAP, D. Ostoicz, and the chairman of the Polish chapter of the AIAP, professor W. Jackiewicz, were received by the director of the Cultural Department of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, professor Witold Nawrocki. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Oct 85 p 2] 12270

VETERANS OF SOVIET ARMY MEET--On 17 October, on the occasion of Polish Army Day, the National Council of Poles--Former Soldiers of the Soviet Army and the International Press and Book Club [KMPiK] organized in the KMPiK "Nowy Swiat" in Warsaw, a meeting of veterans, participants in the struggle with German fascism, with the military attache of the USSR general major Aleksander Chomienko. A group of Polish combatants were honored with Soviet medals. Among the decorated were reserve Colonels Zbigniew Kaczmarek, Adam Hejsztajn, Wladyslaw Sawicki, and Captain Edward Jarmusz. Among others, Colonel Wiktor

Leszkowicz, Captain Mieczyslaw Jaryczewski, and senior Sargent Alfons Kaminski were awarded the medal "For Service in the Defense of the Nation" by the Ministry of Defense. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 85 p 2] 12270

PZPR EDUCATORS, PSYCHOLOGISTS MEET--On 17 October a plenary session of the party team of educators and psychologists acting in the Science and Education Department of the Central Committee of the PZPR took place in Warsaw. The purpose of the session was to discuss the tasks of educational sciences in the light of the Politburo directives "Basic Directions of Development of the Social Sciences," and acquainting the team members with the preparations for the third Congress of Polish Science and plenum of the Central Committee on the theme of national education. The session was led by the team chairman, professor Jan Bogusz. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 85 p 2] 12270

STUDENT UNION ON EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS--A college graduate cannot be solely a more or less skillful professional in one, usually narrow, field. He must know and understand social mechanisms shaping the contemporary world, he must want to and be able to influence that world. Therefore it is the duty of the Union of Polish Students [ZSP] to oppose the trends that would eliminate from the curricula such subjects as philosophy, sociology, and political science. At the same time, the organization must carry on its own ideological-educational work, as an equally important part of its actions. The student movement has elaborated for this purpose throughout the years many methods, ways, and forms, such as clubs of political thought or schools for activists. [Excerpt] [Warsaw ITD in Polish No 42, 20 Oct 85 p 5] 12270

CSO: 2600/83

YUGOSLAVIA

FAILURES OF POLITICAL SYSTEM DISCUSSED

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 25 Oct 85 pp 18, 38-39

[Article by Slobodan Inic: "When the State Fails a Test, the People Take the Makeup"]

[Text] More than a decade has passed since the adoption of the last SFRY Constitution. Those whose memory still serves them well probably recall all the hopes placed in this supreme law of the country, and what was expected from its implementation. Undoubtedly there were exaggerations even then, as usually happens with us in any case when we announce in certain documents that there is more and more socialism... For example, one of the key creators of the Constitution and later constitutional practice asserted that by adopting the Constitution and constitutional laws, we took a large step forward in developing socialist self-management, and that it is the political means for the economic liberation of the working class, discovered at last. The analogy with Marx's opinion of the Paris Commune was supposed to convince us that Marx also "approved" the new Constitution.

From Constitution to Crisis

Not even the most careful observer at that time was aware of everything that would occur during the post-constitution period from 1974 to today. In spite of the hopes and optimistic expectations, we passed through one of the most painful periods in our postwar development. The system based on the Constitution "indebted" us abroad by more than \$20 billion, the workers, both individually and as a self-managing "entrepreneur," became increasingly poorer, ending with "welfare," Kosovo irredentism resulted more from the situation of Yugoslclerosis than because it had been prepared by various "Hoxhas," the disintegration of the country led to some "new" borders of the country, with "its" republics and provinces, and the inter-state ones, after 1974 Yugoslavia "lost" the people, it gained new "homelands," returnees talked about the "Yugo[slavia] while its name was still only shouted in the stadiums... etc.

Today, one might say, we are more capable of assessing more realistically the post-constitution period that has passed. Some of the assessments already given resemble the existing situation. Hasn't society entered a crisis? And hasn't the country acquired its confederate outlines? We are intentionally

raising these two issues -- assessments -- in an acute form. The social monotony of the 1950's, into which we are sinking more and more, is not just a poor view from a picture by a nostalgic master. It is our reality, the present day.

What kind of attitude should one have toward the Constitution? Does it mean, for example, that the persecution of Serbs in Kosovo is not persecution? Does it mean that this is implementation of the Constitution? Isn't foreign debt also constitutional? After all, there are those who ask, "If this is socialism, then why did we support it?" What will our future be like? Judging by the present -- difficult and very uncertain. Nevertheless, we have a right to demand something better for society, no matter how elusive it is.

The State Being Tested

What are the authorities undertaking in this respect?

We consequently call attention to the appearance of an official document, only one of several recently, in which it is claimed that "we know how to bring society out of the crisis" -- the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management. Our intention is to point out critically the logical, methodological, and "structural" lack of foundation of the Critical Analysis. And this means that in the development of the Analysis, with the assumptions on which it is based, not even the proposals can be good. It is not a homework assignment for a student, who bears the consequences for it himself. When the state fails a test, the people have to take the makeup.

Eristic as a Document

The ancient Greeks distinguished eristic from dialectic. Eristic was a skill that was highly valued. It was used to show the bad in the good, as good. The eristics taught how to show that black was white. But in contrast to the dialecticians, who try to discover the truth, the eristics want a victory. The Critical Analysis actually reminds us of something like this. It is an eristic document. But whom does it defeat? A poor reality. Is it really so necessary to defeat this reality? Can anyone really consider himself a victor today? Haven't we all been defeated?

The Critical Analysis has some of the old characteristics of all our documents. It is written in boring and meaningless language. Sentence constructions like: "for the system of social reproduction to come alive in practice," "weaknesses in the implementation of the constitutional concept of associated labor," "major weaknesses have been manifested," "weaknesses and distortions," "lags in development," "consequences of these trends," "still," "to a sufficient extent," "not always," "should and must," etc., are more an expression of bad politics than bad linguistics. Not to mention ignorance, since the system of social reproduction was already in existence in society's last three economic forms. Naturally, one does not particularly have to know this, but when someone is working on "improving" the state, then such ignorance is unforgivable. At any rate, with respect to language and style, everyone who reads the Critical Analysis will endure unbelievable spiritual

difficulties.

The arguments in the Critical Analysis are all along the lines of "the arguments of the Party." It appears that the creators of the Analysis resorted to such reasoning in order to strengthen their otherwise weak arguments in regard to the poor social reality caused by post-constitution practice from 1974 to today. One might almost say that the Critical Analysis adheres to a way of thinking that in a specifically institutional sense has led to the crisis of society

Problematical Premises

We believe that the creators of the Critical Analysis, to the last man, consider and feel themselves to be Marxists. This is good, of course. Even better, in the preface to the analysis they commit themselves to a Marxist approach to the functioning of the political system. It is worth showing, however, that this is an unfounded Marxism that later in the text creates confusion, an unfounded logical and methodological structure. For example, the Analysis proceeds from the position that our society "seeks development that will establish as much harmony as possible between production relations and production forces..." Typically Marxist, although Marx would have put production forces first. It does not matter, though. Let us continue: "This implies continually coordinating the political system with changes in the socioeconomic... structure..." Correct! But it is necessary to show how and to what extent the document adheres to this basic theoretical and methodological position.

The main sources of distortions in the functioning of the political system lie, among other things, in the "slow implementation of the self-managing production relationship..." According to this, it turns out that we have a self-managing production relationship, but it is being implemented slowly! We would be satisfied if we really did have a self-managing production relationship in our country, even if it were being implemented slowly. But the problem is that in our country, at this stage of the development of production forces, not only does a self-managing production relationship not exist, except as an ideological fiction, but objectively and historically it cannot exist. We are dealing with an essentially bourgeois method of production that has been modified constitutionally and politically, but which does not function in a self-managing manner in the sense of production by self-managing production forces, nor will it operate in a self-managing manner at all, at least in our lifetimes.

A little later, something quite different is stated: it is considered necessary that the system be adapted more rapidly to "its own source -- the socialist self-management nature of production relations." Thus, the thesis of the existence of a self-managing production relationship is retained. It is forgotten, however, that it is being "implemented slowly." This is not without significance. If it is true that it is being implemented slowly, and if the political system is the source of the distortions, then why adapt it to something that is already the source of the distortions of the political system? In the second place, and much more important: according to these contradictory assertions, it turns out that the political system, when it was

established in 1974, was not adapted to "its own source"! It seems that Marxism was not our strong suit then either.

Creation for Implementation?

On the following pages of the Analysis, the reader will encounter a third interpretation of the relationship between production (self-managing) relations and the political system. It is stressed here that the political system has not "contributed enough to more rapid and more complete development of the self-managing production relationship." This is again completely contradictory to the assertion that implementation "of the political system... has occurred under the conditions of and under pressure from the system of expanded reproduction, based upon state-property production relations..." After this, it is stressed once more that major weaknesses have been revealed in the institutions and mechanisms of delegate decision-making, especially in "adaptation to the self-management nature of production relations..."!

Unfortunately, it seems that there is no end to the confusion in interpreting the relationship of the political system and the self-managing production relationship, since we also encounter a fourth explanation. According to it, "The main direction of changes in the functioning of the political system should be creating the conditions for implementation of the production relations of socialist self-management..." If one is to believe this last interpretation, then one should just create the conditions for implementation of the self-managing production relationship. Does this mean that the previous three interpretations are no longer valid? Or does it mean that according to this last one, we have a self-managing production relationship, but in order for it to be implemented, it is necessary to create the conditions for its implementation? Creation for implementation?!

"Hard" Constitution

The English political scientist and jurist Bryce divided constitutions into hard and soft ones. Hard constitutions are in principle unchanging, while soft ones permit changes. Hard constitutions proceed from the principle that some of the system's institutions are unchanging. For example, the U.S. Constitution does not permit a change in the distribution of power on which the American political system is based. Hard constitutions contribute to the stability of the system, but their weakness is that they do not keep pace with changes in political life. Soft constitutions are open to changes, and are consequently life-giving. Their shortcoming, however, is that the contents of the constitution that represent the spine of the state and social order can be easily changed.

In our country the constitutions were easily changed up until 1974. Everything indicated that we had soft constitutions. It was felt that this was one of the positive characteristics, since our society was still developing and constitutional conservatism could be an obstacle to revolutionary changes. At least that is how it was explained by the chief theoretician of the constitutional changes in Yugoslavia from the war to 1974. There were also criticisms then that frequent constitutional and legal changes

were causing instability and that one should show patience in order for them to take root.

According to the Critical Analysis, it appears that our constitution remains a hard one, and thus difficult to change. "The SFRY Constitution... of 1974 established the foundations of the political system... It thus created the program, normative, and institutional prerequisites for the liberation of labor and the construction and development of society in accordance with the association of free producers... the power of the working class..." It is obvious now, in contrast to the time when the constitution was very easily changed, another extreme has prevailed -- the unchangeability of the Constitution. Consequently, the Critical Analysis does not speak of changes in the Constitution or the political system, but rather of the need for "radical changes in the functioning of the political system in practice..." The position is resolute: "It is not a question of a crisis of the political system, but rather of the need to eliminate... weaknesses, distortions, and problems in its functioning..."

This is a very amazing explanation. Separating the functioning of the political system from the political system itself seems extremely absurd and illogical. Does this mean that the functioning is one thing, and the system another?

Although the Critical Analysis claims that the system is not in a crisis, and thus indirectly responds to those who think that it nevertheless is in a crisis, it is also necessary to say the following: perhaps it is no longer important whether the system is in a crisis or not. It is much more important that society is in a crisis, that it has been led into one. An end to this fruitless discussion about whether the system is in a crisis or not will depend upon the broadest masses of the workers and people coming to their senses in this regard. Then not just a system, but also something more than the system, might be blamed for the crisis.

Perhaps socialism is still not the best system. But it would be extremely unjust to have it proclaimed the chief culprit for everything, or to defend its historical purpose because some system created in its name did not know how to guarantee people work, apartments, trade, wages, because it divided them in various ways, closed them off in borders, impeded them in the ascent of civilization, dropped them to last place on different European development lists, and instead built normativistic "castles in the air" as "real" happiness.

Convincing Proof

The Critical Analysis does not offer convincing proof that something in the system will actually be changed. It apparently changes in such a way as not to change anything. In the "structural" sense, the Analysis suffers from unjustified logical-methodological and theoretical-political premises. This causes confusion, vagueness, and the impracticality of the proposals. We have partially indicated some of the unresolved problems. The discussions so far have also shown that parts of some political leaderships also have considerable criticisms. Basically, the Analysis is not a good document, not

because many "officials" have something to criticize, but because the authors simply submitted to what is in existence. Let us imagine that this analysis is now supported by the highest offices. Let us imagine that the politicians agree with its contents. Does this mean that the Analysis will be good, or better? No, by no means. Its fundamental premises are problematical.

Some people are already announcing that regardless of the quality of the Analysis, it should be supported and accepted, so that ideology will not get a bad reputation. This is the reason for the assertions that "we have a solution for getting out of the crisis." But it may actually happen that ideology will get a bad reputation -- just because of this Critical Analysis and ones like it.

9909

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YUGOSLAVIA

PLIGHT OF PROFESSOR DENIED PASSPORT DETAILED

Belgrade DUGA in Sebo-Croatian No 296, 30 Jun 85 pp 22-23

[Article by Milan Nikolic]

[Text] If someone is suspected of being a spy, can he be allowed to educate youngsters for decades? And vice-versa: Why is it that a university professor who has been educating youth for so long cannot travel abroad, even for academic reasons?

Dr. Vitomir Vuletic of Novi Sad has been writing scholarly books for thirty years and appeals for thirteen. He began the latter on April 3, 1972, when he was called to the Novi Sad City Secretariat for Internal Affairs and his passport taken away.

"Go to the counter. There you will receive the [written] decision," he was told.

The decision briefly stated that his passport number CA 025301 is being taken away because "it was established in the course of the proceedings that this must be done in the best interests of security." And that was the end of it as far as legal remedy is concerned. From that time on, Dr. Vuletic has been trying in vain to regain his passport and thus remove the stigma of suspicion cast on him. He has written numerous applications, appeals and complaints. On three occasions he has requested a new passport, but it has always been denied for "security reasons."

A Scholar Under Suspicion

"People who thirteen years ago committed some criminal offense and have paid their debt are now full-fledged citizens of society. They have received new passports and are traveling abroad, while I, who have been honorably pursuing my profession for 32 years, have been made suspect without reason and have been partially restricted and abused," says Vuletic.

Who is this man who endangers the security of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia?

Dr. Vitomir Vuletic began his work as an educator in an elementary school, then taught in the Teacher's Training School in Sremski Karlovac, went on to the Teacher's Training College, and for the last 23 years has been lecturing on Russian Literature as a professor at the School of Philosophy of the University of Novi Sad. He is a member and associate of Matica srpska [a literary society], and for a number of years he has been secretary and member of the Board of Directors of the Slavic Society of Serbia. An expert on comparative literature, up to now he has written and published seven books: three on Svetozar Markovic, three in the field of Russian literature, and a companion book is just coming off the press - "The Origins of Serbian Realism and Russian Literature." Between 1965 and 1970, Vuletic had made several visits to slavic centers in Moscow and Prague as a scholar and researcher.

"It is with full financial and legal responsibility that I state," says Vuletic, as he has repeated numerous times in applications and appeals, "that while visiting abroad I have never given any cause for such action to be taken. On the contrary, I have always honorably represented our country, as a scholar and as a private citizen. In any case, the last 13 years have been sufficient time to prove any subversive activity, but up to now no criminal proceeding has been instigated against me. The reason for this is simple: There are no security reasons but rather political reasons for taking away my passport."

Vuletic says that it all began in 1970 when several political earthquakes shook the School of Philosophy in Novi Sad. The consequences of the student demonstrations did not escape this School. A group of openly active students and professorial assistants became the target of the political team then led by Mirko Canadanovic. Vuletic backed the group, not because he agreed with their ideas but rather because he defended their right to express their opinions. After that, the University Committee, not his party organization, expelled him from the League of Communists. In early 1972, another "mine" exploded from the "student unrest." On the agenda was the reelection of Djordjije Vukovic, one of the editors of "STUDENT" in the "'68 era," to the position of professorial assistant. Vukovic was not reelected, but Dr. Vuletic did vote for him. A month before this meeting took place, when the pressure was at its peak to prevent the young assistant from being reelected, Professor Vuletic's passport was revoked.

Article 40, Paragraph 5

"I hope that certain differences between myself and certain political forums in assessing specific events at the School of Philosophy and in our community cannot be sufficient reason for this action. These different views were expressed publicly on my part, along with full respect for the legality of existing institutions," wrote Professor Vuletic in his appeal to the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs, but his appeal was refused with the explanation that "in accordance with Paragraph 5, Article 40 of the Law on Travel Documents, the authority of the first instance was not obliged to cite the reasons for the decision that was made."

In his appeal to the Supreme Court of Vojvodina, Professor Vuletic states his interpretation of this right on the part of the Secretariat for Internal

Affairs: "The purpose of the legislator was not to use this authority to introduce self-will or to legalize the principle of an arbitrary, one-sided and unfounded restriction on civil rights and liberties. The non-existence of this obligation to cite the reasons in the decision in no way means that these reasons do not have to exist and that they do not have to have their factual, logical and political justification."

The Supreme Court of Vojvodina rejected Vuletic's charge against the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs with the explanation that "the decision under dispute was made and freely assessed within the boundaries of legal authority because the administrative body was not obliged to state its reasons in the decision."

Appeals Without Responses

Two years later, Vuletic reapplied for a passport but was again refused because this "was required by security reasons." By a decision of the Secretariat for Finance of the Novi Sad Commune Assembly, the fee of 172.80 dinars, which Vuletic had paid for the issuance of a new passport, was returned to him. At the end of 1978, the same exact thing occurred, the only difference this time being that the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs deemed it unnecessary to respond to Vuletic's two appeals.

After having exhausted all legal avenues, Professor Vuletic has again taken up his pen and is writing to the Commission for Petitions and Recommendations of the Assembly of Vojvodina. His complaint states the history of the events over the years, and ends with this appeal:

"The nature of my work requires that I travel to large libraries and archives in Yugoslavia and abroad, that I participate in international scholarly meetings and congresses. By the arbitrary, one-sided and unfounded measure of taking away and not reissuing my passport - which is illustrated by the fact that they are not responding to my appeal - the competent authority is directly preventing me from further pursuit of my profession and is jeopardizing the opportunity for my further academic activity. I feel this act of the administrative bodies to be an attack on my civil rights and liberties, on my profession as a scholar and professor, on my freedom to create and on my academic communication and reporting, which also means an attack on my spiritual and material existence.

Guilty Without Proof

The Commission for Petitions and Recommendations of the Assembly of Vojvodina briefly informs Professor Vuletic of the outcome of his appeals.

"We investigated the petition which you lodged with this Commission regarding the issuance of a passport with the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Novi Sad. It follows that the reasons for which your passport was taken away continue to be valid, and we cannot meet your request."

At the end of 1983, Dr. Vuletic again knocked on the door of the Novi Sad City Secretariat for Internal Affairs. This time he received the briefest of all decisions to date: "In connection with your request for the issuance of a passport, dated 14 November of this year, we inform you that we cannot comply for the reasons cited in Decision No. 27-14870/78 issued by this Secretariat on 16 November 1969, which continue to be valid.:

As the same reasons have been "valid" for over ten years now and have not changed at all, Vuletic addressed himself to the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia for assistance.

"As I have exhausted all legal avenues to establish my civil right to freedom of movement, work, creativity and communication without having achieved anything, I am addressing myself to the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia so that it will take a decisive step to break the cycle of endlessness and nonsense that has been formalized to the point where it directly endangers the basic values of society."

The Commission for Petitions and Recommendations of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia submitted this claim to the Commission for Petitions of the Assembly of Vojvodina which, on 2 April of this year, exactly 13 years from the beginning of this case, informed Dr. Vuletic that "the reasons continue to exist for which your passport was taken away, and therefore your application is being denied."

"According to all the legal systems in the world, including ours, no one is guilty until proven so," says Professor Vuletic, "but according to the Law on Travel Documents, not only have I been tagged with the label of spy without proof, but I cannot even find out the reasons for this in order to defend myself. I am willing to bear all responsibility if it is proved that I have jeopardized or am jeopardizing the security of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. But for the last 13 years no one has even tried to prove this."

Finally, Professor Vuletic raised several essential issues which logically crop up and even more logically demand answers.

"I have been acting by the written word for a full 30 years. I have written seven books and 150 studies, critiques and essays that have been published in Yugoslav and foreign journals. My pupils and students are teachers and professors in schools, many of them are distinguished reporters, writers and public and political figures. How then can a man who endangers the security of the country educate youngsters for decades in an institution of such special social interest as the university? This question has an opposite side: How can a man who has been educating youngsters for tens of years in an institution of such special social interest as the university not be allowed to travel abroad, not for tourism but for academic reasons?"

I Was Clear

We tried to find answers to these questions among those who hold the keys to this case. At about 9:00 am we knocked on the door of the head of the

passport office of the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs, Radivoje Popov. He received us warmly and said:

"I am new here, I'm not familiar with the case, and right now I'm hurrying to get to a meeting. Leave me your address and telephone number, and we'll call you."

"That's all right, we can wait until you return from the meeting."

"All right," said Comrade Popov, "let's see. Come back before the end of the day, about 1:30."

At precisely that time, Popov again warmly received us and in a friendly manner said:

"I have examined and read Vuletic's dossier. According to Article 40, Paragraph 6 of the Law on Travel Documents, his passport was taken away for security purposes and we are not obliged to cite the reason. You know how democratic our country is: 99.99 percent of Yugoslavs have a passport. When it is a matter of public order and the security of the country, this is the discretionary right of police all over the world, including ours, and they are not obliged to state the reasons for taking a passport away, either to outsiders or to the press. This is why I cannot give the reason for which Vuletic had his passport taken away."

"Is it possible that these reasons have been valid for so long? If this is so, in what cases does something like this happen?"

"I told you, I cannot tell you the reasons when a passport is taken away under circumstances where the security of the country is endangered."

"All right. But please answer this: Is it possible that nothing has changed in 13 years?"

"I will answer that question with another question: Is it possible that we have been holding on to this passport without having strong reason for taking it away from Vuletic? If there were no reasons, the document would have been returned."

"If there is suspicion that Vuletic is engaged in espionage and is jeopardizing the security of the country, why were no charges raised against him over the last 13 years? You have the right to do this."

"I think that I have been sufficiently clear. The reasons for taking the passport away still stand, and because of the security of the country we cannot issue a passport. I have no more to say, and so I ask you to please stop posing new questions."

"Only one more. If Professor Vuletic is justifiably suspected of being dangerous to the security of the country, why has this not been brought to the attention of the socio-political organizations in the special interest institution in which he works so that measures can be taken? He has been educating

generations of young people, and since his passport has been taken away Vuletic has educated 13 generations of academic citizens of this country, whose security he endangers."

"I would not answer this question. It's not necessary because I have already said everything I had to say. Now you think and decide whether or not you want to write about it."

2661/12913

CSO: 2800/410

YUGOSLAVIA

COLLECTIVE EFFORT, ONE-YEAR TERM FAULTED

Importance of Context

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Oct 85 p 12

[Article by M. Tomasevic: "Work in the Shadow of Power"]

[Text] It is just about 7 years now (21 November 1978) when at the Eighth Congress of Yugoslav Trade Unions Josip Broz took the initiative for advancement of collective effort and responsibility. We are coming to this anniversary without any very serious or scientifically grounded analyses concerning the results of that initiative's realization, but at the same time, there is every sign that it will be marked by serious changes in the amendments which at one time were made with great ceremony in the constitution and other documents so that--as it was then asserted--the legislative basis might be given for guaranteeing unhindered collective effort and responsibility.

Except for the well-known exceptions, when history mandated differently--the effort in our country has been a collective one from the beginning of the revolution. The initiative for further advancement of collective effort, which the one-year term of office was meant to promote, has now been tested in a situation that was difficult on many counts: Over a short period of time the movement was left without several of its key people who had been its revered strategists from the beginning; the country was shaken by a grave economic crisis; the processes of disintegration were more pronounced than ever before....

In that kind of situation, but mostly because collective effort never really took root, the attention of the public has been mainly turned to the length of the term of office, so that even today collective effort is "translated" and interpreted as "collective leadership." How favorable or unfavorable these conditions were for testing this initiative is difficult to say, but it is certain that the person who occupied the first place during that one year did nevertheless differ too much from the other members of the collective. He was simply overburdened with numerous obligations and tasks, while the others seemed to be satisfied with waiting their turn.

That is why the one-year term of office did not stand the test of time and will by all appearances be abolished everywhere at the top of the Federation (the presidiums of the LCY Central Committee, the SFRY, the SAWPY, the Yugoslav

Federation of Trade Unions, the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia, the Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War). It remains to be seen what impact this will have on the unity of the LCY and Yugoslavia, whether it will calm down or accentuate the quarrels and divisions. In the absence of an appropriate collective effort the person whose term of office is longer will indisputably be in a stronger position. However, this does not mean that the republic and provincial "leaders" will automatically have greater influence and power, although it will perhaps be that danger that will compel federal collective bodies to work still more as united collective bodies of Yugoslavia.

Since there has been no very serious research or analyses about collective effort and the one-year term of office over this 6-year experience, one can speak only on the basis of impressions. One's impression is that adoption of the one-year term of office and the other devices, although halfway measures, did bring about major changes in personnel policy throughout the life of society and people's behavior. There is no question of the inroads of democratization of relations within the League of Communists, and this solution did avert a possible struggle for power, leaderism and other harmful things. A sizable potential in terms of personnel has also been liberated, people have risen to the surface in politics who would otherwise have languished in the labyrinths of the opstina personnel merry-go-round, and the spread of the subservient mentality has been averted to a certain extent. There has also been an ever growing awareness that we are all responsible for the future, that no one has the right to sit passively and wait for decisions "from above."

However, it was not possible to avoid all the pitfalls. The more frequent, annual, horizontal rotation of people in positions of responsibility turned sour because it was perceived as a simple exchange of posts, and it was openly said of these elections that they were a "demagogic simulation of democracy," since everything began, took place and ended within forums.

The dominant opinion in discussions of the one-year term of office is that this solution has a number of shortcomings, the greatest of which is that it makes the office superfluous and for all practical purposes results in abolishing all personal responsibility. The differing solutions concerning the length of the term of office is also bothersome, since truly there is nothing to justify them.

The greatest danger, and one that appears not to have been overcome as yet, is that collective effort be seen as collective leadership, which could also be seen as "allowed or even desired usurpation" of public affairs by small groups. Thus instead of a compact monopoly of an individual in the process of decision-making and the restriction of their power, smaller or larger groups of the chosen would emerge and make decisions concerning public business in the name of the working class. Thus it is possible for work to be done through forums in which the most important decisions are made and policy is established without the necessary influence of the class, through a tie-up of political elites. And we know that there is no true collective decisionmaking so long as anyone is deciding in the name of the working people, bypassing them.

The goal must not be only to suppress the monopoly of individuals in the process of decisionmaking. If decisions concerning public business are made not by one person, but a small or large group of the chosen, this will not make it any easier at all for the working class, nor will it contribute to the development of socialist self-management.

It follows from all this, then, that the experience to date with collective effort should be seriously and scientifically researched and analyzed, and then on the basis of those lessons the process of democratization of public affairs would be resumed and deepened. The worst thing would be for the initiative for advancement of collective effort to come to an end in this period with nothing more than abolishing the one-year term of office. If matters are to be left there, this would actually be rather a step backward than forward, since the actual social situation is constantly demanding new revolutionary changes, not a return to old or halfway solutions.

Pitfalls of the One-Year Term

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[Article by Dr Stojan Tomic]

[Text] The institution of the term of office limited to one or more years, which has been intensively debated in recent years, was derived from the essence of the idea of collective effort, decisionmaking, and responsibility, but as such (as an institution) it is incapable of carrying and realizing all the wealth of that essence itself.

Accordingly, it can be said that the institution of the one-year (or longer) term of office reduces and impoverishes all that wealth contained in the Marxist idea of the collective conduct of public affairs in an era of self-management.

The reductions are still greater wherever and whenever the issue of the one-year or longer term of office becomes serious, and one gets the impression that the entire content of the idea of collective effort, decisionmaking and responsibility goes no further than the question of how long the term of office should last. When the issue is put so one-sidedly, then it will not be difficult to divide the political public into those FOR and those AGAINST the one-year term of office. If the constructive and adverse experience of the one-year term of office is analyzed on the basis of a one-sided practice, above all on inappropriate application of the institution of the one-year term of office, then there will inevitably be not only mistaken assessments and conclusions, but also the wrong question will be asked. In what is this manifested?

Two Mistakes

The one-sided practice at the very outset was manifested above all in the fact that even people who had not previously been prepared were brought into (elected to) positions of leadership, people who because they were new needed

not just one, but several years to become familiar with the new problems, so that the term of office should accordingly have been much longer than just one year, and indeed several years would have been too short for them to become familiar with the new problems.

Carrying out this idea requires many prerequisites, among them the institution of prior preparation over several years for new possible positions of leadership, which in our practice has not been adopted or has been done on a very modest and unsatisfactory scale. It is well known that certain other political cultures in the world have been introducing the institution of prior preparation of personnel for possible new positions (if their party wins the election), lasting from 10 to 15 years.

In the political culture of self-management socialism there has to be an advance guarantee that for every new post which might open up there are at least 10 or 12 people who for years have been trained in professional and political courses for the new elective offices (why even now shouldn't every opstina have 20 or 30 people who are equipped so that tomorrow they could successfully accept the positions of president, vice president, or member of the executive body). In that case the principal objection to the institution of the one-year term of office would be eliminated or minimized: that one year is too short a time to become familiar with the problems in the new post.

Another type of one-sidedness in application of the institution of the one-year term of office is that ordinarily after the one-year term of office expires, the elected official completely leaves not only his elective office, but also the institution, that is, leaves the collective body and goes into a completely new place that is altogether unfamiliar to him, where once again he ordinarily takes up a key position (the position of president, secretary, or director).

Thus at least two injuries are done thereby to the idea of collective effort--one lies in interrupting the continuity (continuity of personnel and sometimes also of values) in the collective from which the key elected official departs, and the second is that the same person comes into a new place which he is not sufficiently familiar with, and then he truly needs a longer time to become familiar with the new type of work. (It thus happens that a person worked first in a committee, and then he was elected to a key position in the electric power industry, although he had not graduated from a school of electrical engineering or similar school of the university, and then shortly thereafter he went to the railroads, again occupying a key position, and, of course, it would take such a person even an 8-year term of office to become familiar with the new work so utterly unfamiliar to him.)

Instead of the practice we have described, reflection could be given to a somewhat different institution of short terms of office, which would consist of the following: at least four persons, say one chairman and three vice chairmen or members of the collective body, would be elected for one term (perhaps 4 years) to the collective body, and they would remain in that institution all 4 years, but the chief position would rotate every year or perhaps even more frequently.

Provided the personnel making up the collective body do not change during one term (2-4 years, possibly even longer), it truly would be possible to adopt more frequent changes.

Elements of Deformations

If the institution of the one-year or longer term of office is continued in accordance with present practice, if the suggestions which have been made or others (which we cannot take up here) are not adopted, then Tito's and the Marxist idea of the collective handling of public affairs would truly be deformed and essentially reduced. The elements of deformation can be sensed even now, sometimes even recorded, such as the following:

- 1) Formation and affirmation of a model of personal rule by the top people, whose attitudes are affected by the sense of their being temporary and who do many things which they would not have done under different conditions (that is, even one year is a long time to set up the model of personal rule). The how and the wherefore of this is a separate topic for some other occasion.
- 2) The division of offices, instead of the division of sharing the work load--the key elected officials who move from one institution to another are more inclined to share out offices instead of sharing out the work load among the members of the collective body (the top persons in the collective body usually treat the ordinary members as their deputies, as their emissaries, and less as equal members who tomorrow are to come and head the institution). The revolution and self-management have become more and more familiar with the institution of a division of the work load among equals, and there has been less and less division of offices and power.
- 3) The elected collective body is or ought to be more a kind of workshop for exchange of abilities among those with approximately equal ability, rather than a hierarchical institution for exchange of power and authority between the powerful and the less powerful.
- 4) The idea of the collective conduct of public affairs is based on management of things, but a number of top people are more inclined to manage people, although the management of people is classified among the most primitive types of the social handling of public affairs (as a rule people who have not mastered the skill of managing things, very complicated technical and technological and political processes, are inclined to show their ignorance in the management of people).

A Reform of Leadership Is Needed

To sum up:

First. It is high time that the institution of the length of the term of office be studied scientifically and high time that decisions not be based only or predominantly on political assessment, since even here politics is not so capable that it can on its own create, analyze scientifically, and also carry out such a rich and multidimensional idea.

Second. If the institution of the one-year term of office is not to be viewed in isolation as either the only or as the dominant institution, but in the light of all possible institutions that have been tested in history for the collective conduct of public affairs (according to our research, revolutions have so far tested more than some 50 institutional arrangements and visions of the idea of collective effort and responsibility, and the institution of the term of office takes a very modest place in this, not dominant by any means).

Third. Application of such a rich idea of the collective conduct of public affairs is least of all a reform of those who make up the leadership (the question of whether they should be changed every day, every year, or every 4th year or not), and it is above all a reform of the pattern of leadership; above all, the management of people should grow to become management and control of things, complicated technical and technological and social processes and relations. But the reform of the pattern of leadership cannot be reduced to the institution of the length of the term of office.

Fourth. The idea of the collective conduct of public affairs is related to deprofessionalization, to the gradual "liquidation," the dying out of the stratum of professional managers, and that is why it is indispensable to achieve numerous prior conditions, among them that which is most difficult at all--how to put the leaders and later all the working people on the same level in just one respect--that they become equally capable of dealing with the public affairs of self-management regardless of whether they are workers, lawyers, farmers, or physicians by occupation.

Length of the Term of Office in the Bodies of Sociopolitical Organizations (in years)

Republics and Provinces	LC Bodies		SAWP		Trade Unions		Socialist Youth League	
	Chairman	Secretary	Chairman	Secretary	Chairman	Secretary	Chairman	Secretary
Yugoslavia	1	2	1	2	1			
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1+1	2+2	1+1	2	1+1	2	1	1
Montenegro	1+1	2+2	1	2	1+1	2+2	1	1+1
Croatia	1	2	1+1	2+2	1	4	1	1
Macedonia	1+1	2+2	1+1	2+2	1+1	2+2	1	1
Slovenia	2+2	2+2	2+2	2+2	2+2	2+2	2	2
Serbia	1+1	2+2	1+1	2+2	1+1	2+2	1	1
Kosovo	1	2	1	2	1	2+2	1	1
Vojvodina	1	2	1+1	2+2	1	2+2	1	1
Organization of the LCY in the Yugoslav People's Army	2+2	2+2						

Length of the Term of Office of Top People in Sociopolitical Communities in Yugoslavia

<u>Indicator</u>	<u>SFRY</u>	<u>Bosnia- Herce- govina</u>	<u>Mace- donia</u>	<u>Slo- venia</u>	<u>Serbia Proper</u>	<u>Vojvo- dina</u>	<u>Ko- sovo</u>	<u>Cro- atia</u>	<u>Monte- negro</u>
Chairman of the presid- ium	1	1+1	1	2+2	1+1	1	1	1	1
President of the assembly	1	1+1	1+1	2+2	1+1	1	1	1	1
Vice presi- dent of the assembly	1	1+1	4	2+2	1+1	1	1	1	1
Chairman of the execu- tive council	4	2	4	4	4	2+2	2	2+2	2+2
President of the opstina assembly	--	1+1	2	2+2	2+2	1	1+1	1	1+1
Chairman of the execu- tive body of the opstina assembly	--	2	4	4	4	2+2	2	2+2	2+2

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